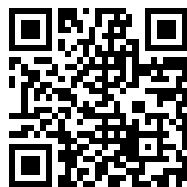

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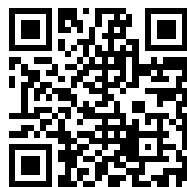
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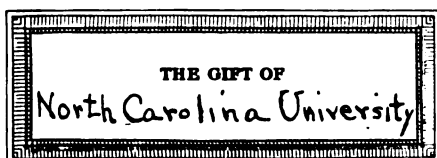
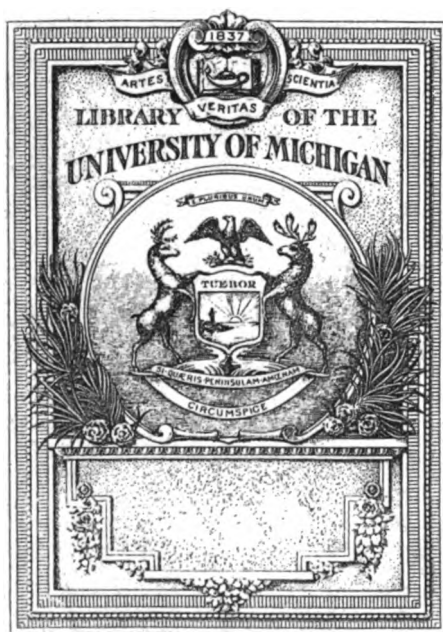
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Studies in Philology

Edited by JAMES F. ROYSTER

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Studies in Philology

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THE ENGLISH LITERARY HORIZON: 1815-1835 (AS SEEN BY THE AMERICAN TRAVELER)

BY ROBERT E. SPILLER

"The Atlantic," said Nathaniel Parker Willis, "is to us a century." In other words, he assumed that the interval of some three thousand miles was equivalent to the passage of a hundred years, and that the American of about 1830 could therefore view the English literary horizon of that day with a clearness impossible to a native English observer. If this exceedingly novel idea had even a slight basis in reason, the literary opinions of those Americans who visited England have far more significance than has been attached to them.

Irving develops the theory even further in his essay on Campbell. "The vast ocean that rolls between us," he says, "like a space of time, removes us beyond the sphere of personal favor, personal prejudice, or personal familiarity. A European work, therefore, appears before us depending simply on its intrinsic merits. We have no private friendship, no party purpose to serve, by magnifying the author's merits; and, in sober sadness, the humble state of our national literature places us far below any feeling of national rivalry."¹

The natural place to turn for this American judgment of English literature would be the critical reviews of the time, but unfortunately there were none published in America which could, in the fullest sense, be called independent. The practices of clipping from English journals or deferring to English judgments were still dominant in American journalism in spite of the efforts of

¹ *Biographies and Miscellanies*, N. Y., 1866, pp. 142-3.

the *North American Review* and to some extent the *Port Folio* and the *Analectic*. Even the *North American* was modeled on lines laid down by the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*.

The American traveler in England, however, was in a position to judge with far greater freedom. In the first place, unlike his English brother in America, he was a man of exceedingly broad culture and persistent energy. England sent her fops and adventurers to America; America sent her leaders of thought in all lines to England. The English traveler felt that he was descending to a lower plane of civilization and was fully prepared with his quota of scorn; the American traveler frankly recognized his ascent to a higher, and for the most part took the step in order to learn rather than to criticize.

At the time when Irving and Willis wrote, many of America's best minds had made the trip on a variety of missions, had met and been entertained by England's most exclusive society, and had written their impressions home in the form of letters, journals, and travel books. Her outstanding statesmen, her leaders of industrial and religious thought, and by 1835 many of her literary men had become familiar with England's culture, not only from reading her literature, but from mingling intimately in her intellectual and social life as well. Irving himself traveled over much of Europe, including England, in 1804-5, and spent a large share of his time from 1815 to 1832 in London and Liverpool; Cooper took his entire establishment, including his servants, to England in 1828 and lived in London for several years; Emerson made his first trip in 1833; and in the same year Willis obtained his entrée to that circle of London wits and fashionables which gathered about the brilliant Lady Blessington, a group which included Disraeli, Tom Moore, Byron, Bulwer, and Campbell, as well as lords and ladies of no mean rank. By 1835 also, there had been published in America as many as thirty books of travels in England, and the distinguished American visitors who had left less formal records numbered many hundreds, among them Longfellow, Ticknor, John Quincy Adams, Edward Everett, and the artist, Washington Allston. The composite picture of literary England afforded by such a group as this could scarcely fail to be significant.

George Ticknor, who was in England from 1815 to 1819 for the sole purpose of enlarging his own intellectual horizon, has

expressed perhaps better than any other the primary motive which brought the cultured and ambitious Americans to British soil. "In every literature," he says, "there are many things to be learnt besides the words and the language, which can never be learnt but on the spot, because they are preserved but as a kind of tradition." His objective consisted chiefly, as he puts it, in seeing many different persons, learning their opinions, modifying his own, and, in general, collecting that undefined and indefinite feeling respecting books and authors which existed then in Europe as a kind of unwritten tradition but was almost wholly lacking in America.²

It was with this viewpoint that the best of the American travelers made out their lists of English literary celebrities whom they thought worthy of visit. They had read countless English books, they were familiar with English history and philosophy, and they were eager to add, by personal contact with the great, to a culture of their own which they were frank to recognize as built solidly upon English foundations.

If we were to look back now over our histories of English literature to that period so commonly labeled "The Romantic Revolt," we should probably reach the conclusion that a visitor to England during the period 1815-35 would think first of Byron, Shelley and Keats, then of the Lake poets, Wordsworth, Coleridge and possibly Southey, certainly of Lamb, Hazlitt, and Scott, and probably of Jane Austen, Blake, Landor, Hunt, and De Quincey. At all events, if any one of us were privileged now to make a journey to the England of that day, we should seek out our authors in some such order.

It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to turn to the estimate of this self-appointed posterity, the American in England, and to find an entirely different order of rating. Cooper makes his Mr. Howell in *Homeward Bound* name Scott (with emphasis), Southey, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Moore, Bulwer, Disraeli, Rogers, Campbell, Horace Smith, Miss Landon, and Barry Cornwall as proper subjects for a visit, and this list is similar in its surprising inequalities to that of the average traveler from America.

Whether Scotland or Walter Scott first attracted the American, certain it is that the reputation of each augmented that of the

² *Life, Letters and Journals*, Boston, 1877, I, 274-6.

other; and, as Scott was usually first on the list of English authors, so the literary society of Edinburgh was more appealing than any other. Perhaps because so many Americans had studied at the University of Edinburgh, or because the Scotch character and country were more like his own than England, or because he had read the Waverly novels from cover to cover and loved the background against which they were written and the author who wrote them—whatever the reason, the American, high or low, literary or not, sought out the north country as the first object of his pilgrimage. There is almost more about Scott, his haunts, and the scenes of his novels and poetry than about places connected with the names of all other English authors, living or dead, put together.

The society of Edinburgh was frankly and liberally of a literary cast and interest, chiefly centering about the University. Many literary salons were held by professors and by those with literary pretensions or interests. The one most frequently mentioned is that of Mrs. Grant of Laggan, "one of the women that the world is willing to call meritorious to save themselves the trouble of making any inquiries about her."³ With a slight literary reputation of her own and a power of conversation which attracted even though it did not hold for long, she collected about her most of the interesting people of the town, and practically all of the Americans. Hers was typical of many such coteries, and was particularly congenial to the Americans because she was uniformly cordial to them.

It was in such society as this that the real lions of literary Scotland sometimes found their way and were trapped by the curious visitor. Scott, Jeffrey, Wilson, and Sydney Smith were often met for the first time at one of these formal but hospitable gatherings.

The life of Scott from the days when he was a clerk of the sessions in the parliament house of Edinburgh to the last days of his declining health and death at Abbotsford, as well as every foot of ground of which he wrote or on which he stepped, might be followed in these journals. A glimpse of him is caught in that "small dark room in the Court of Sessions," where he was introduced by Jeffrey to the plain American Quaker, John Griscom;

* Letter to W. P. from Edinburgh, 1814, *N. American Review*, I, 193-4.

he is to be seen walking about the streets of Edinburgh with Ticknor, pointing out the sights which had association with the great of Scotland; in Paris the Scottish met the American lion, Cooper (in Scott's own phrase); in London he dined, together with Cooper, at Sotheby's, and afterwards advanced graciously into the adjoining room, "a maze of petticoats," so that the fair one might "play with his mane."⁴ At Abbotsford, with his children, Sophia and William, and his dogs and cats, he threw open his doors to Irving, Cooper, Willis, Edward Everett, and almost every American visitor who passed his house with or without introduction; and few who came to spend an hour left at the end of the second day. The education of the sport-loving and altogether unliterary William, the charms of Sophia, the beauties and associations of the surrounding country, Melrose and Dryburgh Abbeys, and the locality of what was once the Forest of Sherwood, were the chief subjects of discussion with these strangers, and when they left, it was with a promise to visit again before returning to America.

After the death of its owner, Abbotsford was second only to Stratford as a literary shrine, and the thought of standing before the desk at which the Waverly novels were in all probability written was enough to make the hurried traveler take as much as a day from his tour, and a night as well, if the moon were clear, for Scott himself had advised:

"If thou wouldst view fair Melrose aright,
Go visit it by the pale moonlight."⁵

The Scott country too was hallowed by his touch. The barren borderland was made fertile for the imagination, the charms of the magnificent scenery of the lakes were doubled, and the owner of Ellen's Isle set up a bower after the description given in the poem as a memorial to its author and, it is safe to add, as a bait to these tourists. Derbyshire, Kenilworth, Tantallon Castle near Yester and other spots scattered over the entire island called forth memories of this or that novel or poem, while the people who furnished the originals for some of the characters were visited as though they had something of greatness in them thereby.

⁴*Gleanings in England*, I, 219.

⁵*Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto II.

The extent of this attitude of reverence may be estimated by the remark of Dr. Valentine Mott that, upon visiting Edinburgh in 1834, he was not unmindful of "breathing within the atmosphere that had been enchanted by her own *Great Wizard of the North*."⁶ It was with the man more than with the novels and poems that these travelers were concerned. The most frequent picture of Scott which they present is that of a warm-hearted country gentleman, and the popularity of the Waverly novels seems to have established their excellences and to have precluded even a thought of criticism.

None equals Scott in the fullness of his place in the heart of the American visitor, but the kindness of Professor Wilson, the "Christopher North" of *Blackwood's*, of Francis Jeffrey, and of Sydney Smith added to the pleasure of a visit to Edinburgh. Henry B. McLellan, a young American student of theology, describes "a fine burst of eloquence from Professor Wilson on the loud whispering of the students in the lecture room."⁷ Later, he says, he called on Wilson and was ushered into his study, where among a chaotic mass of books and papers, he found him reclining on an easy elbow chair, and Wilson told him of the time when De Quincey had stayed with him and spent most of his day in bed drinking coffee.

Jeffrey was always interesting, but did not create a uniformly favorable impression. The American naturalist, Audubon, describes him as he entered the room with his wife as a "small (not to say tiny) being, with a woman under one arm and a hat under the other," but "fully aware of his weight in society" and with a shrewd, not to say cunning, eye.⁸ But to Dr. Gibson, who saw him several years later, he appeared thoroughly engaging, of a "light, slender figure, florid complexion, round, sparkling, prominent, black, eye, animated and rapid elocution, and stylish dress."⁹

It was Sydney Smith, however, who was most famed for his talk. Ticknor exclaims that he "never saw a man so formed to float down the stream of conversation, and, without seeming to have any direct influence upon it, to give it his own hue and

⁶ *Travels in Europe and the East*, p. 26.

⁷ *Journal of a Residence in Scotland*, pp. 204 ff.

⁸ Audubon, Maria R., *Audubon and his Journals*, I, 200-1.

⁹ *Rambles in Europe*, pp. 180 ff.

charm.”¹⁰ A corpulent gentleman of fifty he was at the time (1819), yet a man of brilliant wit and sound judgment. Later, from Smith’s own pew in St. Paul’s, Ticknor heard him preach a moral sermon of “great condensation of thought and purity of style,” by far the best, he asserts, that he had ever heard in Great Britain.

In Liverpool the man who was most cordial to the Americans was the banker, William Roscoe, who was likewise an historian, a philanthropist and something of a literary man. As Liverpool was the commonest port of entry, few Americans missed a visit to this hospitable Englishman; while in London Sir James Mackintosh occupied a like position, going out of his way to discover the American visitors and invite them to his table.

This sort of welcome of course colored the American travelers’ estimates of their hosts, but not so far as to rank them second to Scott in literary interest. It was Wordsworth who was accorded this honor. To many, however, the motive for the visit to Cumberland was one of sceptical curiosity rather than of reverence. Southey was almost equally worthy of a visit in the American estimation, and very often the two were seen together at the house of one or the other. To some the trip to the lakes was primarily for the scenery, and a visit to the poets was most incidental. The picture of Wordsworth most frequently drawn is that of a quiet, rather old man, living among the lakes in philosophic calm and interesting himself in America, although not believing in the ultimate success of her experiment in democracy or in the practicality of reform in his own country. When the subject of conversation was religion, he usually took his guest for a walk at sundown to a high place where they sat for a time in devout silence; and when it was politics and Southey was present, they sat in the well furnished library or walked about the garden. Dorothy was often present with her welcome, but neither Coleridge nor any of the other frequent English visitors to Grassmere appeared. Of the two, Wordsworth and Southey, the former left the more favorable impression upon those of a devout turn of mind; while the latter was invariably recalled for his facility of conversation and his wide knowledge.

¹⁰ *Life, Letters and Journals*, I, 265-6.

Coleridge was, in these latter days, resident at Highgate under constant medical supervision. Nevertheless, he became a close friend of Allston, Irving, Samuel F. B. Morse, and C. R. Leslie, and was accorded the honor of a reverential visit by many another. It was into the studio of the two last-named artists that he once came in one of those fits of deep despondency so frequent with him at that time. His friends, however, had planned a means of attack. Morse saw that diplomacy was needed and immediately greeted Coleridge with the statement that he and Leslie had just been discussing the nature of beauty and wanted his opinion. Leslie sensed the situation and took up the argument, as it were, in the midst. Coleridge soon became interested and launched forth on one of those floods of eloquence which were at once the joy and the dismay of his friends.¹¹ White haired and dignified, with a mind absorbed in his own vague thought, he presented a somewhat formidable though cordial aspect to his less intimate visitors.

Of the other poets, Keats and Shelley are scarcely ever mentioned, while the scandal connected with Byron made him more an object of gossip than of visit. Their absence in Italy for so much of the time may likewise have had something to do with this oversight. Ticknor called on Byron, however, and discussed many things, among them the prospects of a visit to America. Willis followed his footsteps through Greece and discussed him with the Countess Guiccioli, whom he met in the Tuileries. Irving and many others visited Newstead Abbey, where the memories of his destructive actions were softened by a visit to Annesley Hall, the former home of Mary Chaworth, enriched by the romantic associations with Byron's early love and disappointment. There was reason for staying at Newstead also; for its new master, Colonel Wildman, was among the most cordial of country-house gentlemen in England. Fourteen years after Byron had so despoiled it of its timber that not a tree remained and had allowed the abbey to deteriorate until hardly a room was habitable, C. S. Stewart, another American, spent some time there and found that the new owner had surrounded the estate with six miles of high and substantial brick wall, planted thousands of young trees, and built

¹¹ Morse, *Letters and Journals*, Boston, 1914, I, 95.

new dwellings and outhouses. He was assigned to the top of the tower adjoining the old ivy-covered arch and accessible only by a winding stone staircase, up which Byron had retreated after the rest of the building had almost fallen in ruins.¹²

It is curious to note, after this neglect of those poets whom we have since numbered among the great, the large number of Americans who stopped off in Sheffield long enough to see the melancholy James Montgomery, writer of hymns and editor of a local paper, "no less respected for his mild virtues as a man, than admired for his excellence as a poet."¹³ He was one of those men who are popular in their day because they express with facility the respectable emotions of the average man. And it was this same feeling for propriety in literature and life which made Hannah More the most visited of all English literary women. In a quiet cottage at Barleywood on the Bristol road, she was to be found with her sister. Visitors had become so numerous by 1828 that she was obliged to admit them only three times a week, when she made up in cordiality for the seeming lack of hospitality in the restriction. Often she sent them on their way with inscribed copies of her works, and always with a "sensation of awe and pleasure."¹⁴ Page after page of these American records is filled with accounts of these visits. Similarly Maria Edgeworth was, among novelists, second only to Scott in the homage paid to her. Her correspondence with the latter had materially added to her fame; but above all it was her elderly modesty, coupled with an entertaining vivacity, which made the visit to her family one of special pleasure.

This was the average list of English literary celebrities whom the American traveler thought worthy of visit. Carlyle does not seem to have been noticed except by Emerson and Longfellow, and the latter was not particularly impressed. The warm and immediate kinship between the Scotchman and Emerson, however, is one of the most notable examples of all literary friendships. Emerson felt that Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Carlyle were the only literary masters of any great note in England, and he found Wordsworth "not prepossessing" and Coleridge unable to "bend to a new

¹² *Sketches of Society in Great Britain and Ireland*, I, 235 ff.

¹³ Allen, Zachariah, *The Practical Tourist*, I, 293.

¹⁴ Green, Jacob, *Notes of a Traveller*, II, 98 ff.

companion and think with him."¹⁵ He had discovered Carlyle in the reviews and the two men warmed to each other immediately. They went out together, says Emerson, to "walk over long hills," and finally "sat down, and talked of the immortality of the soul;"¹⁶ while Carlyle testifies that the only American who had sought him out at dreary Craigenputtock had talked and heard talk to his heart's content, and left them all really sad to part with him.¹⁷

Similarly Ticknor and Willis were among the few who looked upon Charles Lamb and his friends as people of any real distinction, and neither of them shows any too great a degree of reverence or admiration. Ticknor visited Hazlitt in the room which had been previously occupied by Milton and found its walls whitewashed and scribbled over with short scraps of poetry and brilliant thoughts in the nature of a commonplace book. Later he met "these people" at a dinner at Godwin's and makes note of "Lamb's gentle humor, Hunt's passion, and Curran's volubility, Hazlitt's sharpness and point, and Godwin's great head full of cold brains, all coming into contact and conflict, and agreeing in nothing but their common hatred of everything that has been more successful than their own works."¹⁸

The picture which Willis draws is more sympathetic. At breakfast with a lawyer friend in the Temple, he was introduced to Elia and Bridget a short time before Lamb's death. "There was a rap on the door at last," he says, "and enter a gentleman in black small-clothes and gaiters, short and very slight in his person, his head set on his shoulders with a thoughtful, forward bent, his hair just sprinkled with gray, a beautiful deepset eye, aquiline nose, and a very indescribable mouth. Whether it expressed most humor or feeling, good nature or a kind of whimsical peevishness, or twenty other things which passed over it by turns, I can not in the least be certain." He was followed by the "small, bent figure" of his sister. The subsequent conversation was full of trifles, although in it Lamb answered the famous question, "Who reads an American book?" by confessing that Mary devoured Cooper's

¹⁵ *English Traits*, Chap. I.

¹⁶ *Journal*, XXIV, 180.

¹⁷ Froude, J. A., *Thomas Carlyle*, II, 290-1.

¹⁸ *Life, Letters and Journals*, I, 24.

novels with a ravenous appetite and that Woolman's *Journal* was the only American book he had ever read twice.¹⁹

But most of Willis's time was spent in the brilliant circle of Lady Blessington, where he met literary notables who were socially inaccessible to the average American. His *Pencillings* are crowded with anecdotes of Bulwer, Disraeli, Proctor, Tom Moore, and Campbell, as well as many others. For Moore and Campbell he had great sympathy, although he was not uncritical. On one occasion he breakfasted with Proctor, and when the latter was out of the room, he copied from an edition of his poems some comments scribbled on the fly-leaf by Coleridge, inscribed "a map of the road to Paradise drawn in Purgatory on the confines of Hell, by S. T. C. July 30, 1819." The note began, "Barry Cornwall is a poet, *me saltem judice*, and in that sense of the word in which I apply it to Charles Lamb and W. Wordsworth," and it proceeded with some admonitions to the author and to authors in general on the subject of writing poetry.²⁰

Much of Willis's most entertaining gossip concerns Tom Moore. One of his best pictures is of a group around the piano after a dinner at Lady Blessington's when the poet played and sang his own songs "with a pathos that beggar's description," and then rose and disappeared from the room before his hearers could collect their feelings enough for speech.²¹

Like Willis, Cooper met only a restricted group of British litterati and hence had opportunities not open to the average American for forming a judgment of English literary society. There was some confusion as to just who he was, and both Godwin and Samuel Rogers called on him shortly after his settlement in London under the impression that he was the son of a former friend. He was strongly impressed with Godwin's sincerity in his philosophy but scornful of his ignorance of America, while in Rogers he found a sympathetic friend and later a cordial host. He took dinner with him a number of times and attended many of his *petits djeûners*, which then had "deservedly a reputation in London." It was principally through Rogers, a certain Mr. Sotheby, and Sir

¹⁹ *Pencillings*, 1844, pp. 184-5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

James Mackintosh that he met those literary and political figures who so cordially entertained him during his stay and from whom he derived that impression of the English character which later formed the basis of his adverse criticism in his *Gleanings in England* and elsewhere.

Irving had one very important point in common with Willis and Cooper. After the publication of the *Sketch Book* in 1820 he was recognized as a literary man himself and was welcomed to exclusive circles which were closed to others. One of the most remarkable facts about the visits of these three Americans is the British lionizing of them at a time when the sting of a second military defeat at the hands of the United States was still fresh. It only proves what a slight effect the American wars had upon English society. Cooper's novels were being read almost as widely as Scott's, Willis was well armed with letters which told of his native importance in no uncertain terms, and Irving wrote two books on England which flattered and idealized her in irresistible terms. In circles where Byron was mentioned with horror and Lamb ignored, these three Americans found themselves altogether at home.

Irving's shyness before he became famous and his later willingness to accept what favors were extended to him makes his literary judgment of England entirely different from that of the average American. He was never a traveler in England in the ordinary sense. He was a stranger until he became practically a native. His first visit to Europe in 1804 was planned by his brothers, who feared for his health; and he reached London only after a tour of the Continent, in which, he confesses, he shifted from city to city and laid countries aside like books after giving them a hasty perusal.²²

His visit of 1815 was with similarly unliterary intentions. He arrived in Liverpool as the agent of a company which was trembling on the verge of bankruptcy, and his closest associations were with his brother, Peter, then an invalid, and with his sister, Sarah Van Wart, and her family at Birmingham. His chief concerns, apart from his business cares, were in touring places of historical interest and in attending the theatres, always of first importance with him.

²² *Life and Letters*, I, 120.

Little by little, however, and without previous intention, he gained a foothold in literary England. He called upon Campbell at Sydenham, only to find him away; but a conversation with Mrs. Campbell laid the foundations for one of his major literary associations.²³ On another excursion he visited Scott at Abbotsford and was urged to extend his stay to several days. Through the publisher, Murray, he met the elder Disraeli, but his contacts extended no further at the time. Later he became more or less intimate with Moore, Rogers, and some others; still his closest friendships were with the American artists Allston, Morse, Leslie, Stuart Newton and their associates.

The reason for this was that Irving's literary mind lived in an England of the past, an England that never was. He sought out the places made famous by literary and historical associations. He would go far to see Stratford, but experienced no unusual excitement at a first meeting with Coleridge. It was this quality which made him so valuable in uniting the feelings of the two countries, but of little worth as a judge of contemporary literature or literary people.

Of Scott and Campbell he has written at some length. His account of Abbotsford and its owner is full of personal admiration and kindly remembrance of the time spent there; while in his estimate of Campbell, he merely voices the opinion so generally held at the time that the poet was sacrificing a delicate but undoubted genius in critical work because of his despair of ever sustaining his early reputation.²⁴

Irving's literary interest in England's past was, however, shared by many of his fellow visitors from America. The most universally appealing association was, of course, that of Stratford and Shakespeare. On the high road to London, not a traveler failed to pay it a visit, and its honors were almost equally shared by the English poet born there and the American essayist who had immortalized it. Irving was not the first to visit the Red Lion, but the charm of his essay in the *Sketch Book* cast a glamour over places and sights already sacred and started that reverence for old world shrines which has ever since been the dominant interest of the American

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

²⁴ *Miscellanies*, pp. 141-173.

abroad. The old landlady showed Willis the poker on which she had inscribed the words "Geoffrey Crayon's Sceptre" and recounted the story of the evening when she had tried to persuade the American to wake from his reveries by the fire and go to bed. The house where Shakespeare was born, Ann Hathaway's cottage, the site of the once famous mulberry tree, the little church and the tomb of the poet, as well as the forbidding estate of Sir Thomas Lucy, were all the objects of pilgrimages. The traveler scrawled his name on the visitor's books and took coach again on his way to London.

Next to those of Shakespeare, the former haunts of Samuel Johnson were principal objects for the tourist. Litchfield is mentioned many times; few stopped to visit it, although the very name suggested to Dewey a "sort of home." Many, however, shone in the reflected glory of the memory of their contacts with the old doctor, and Dr. Parr, that curious and ponderous replica of the literary dictator, was the object of a visit from Ticknor chiefly for this reason.

The picture of literary England thus afforded by the records of American travelers is curious in its inequalities and its eccentricities. Irving and Willis were right in their assumption that three thousand miles of water would make for a different perspective, but they were wrong in their hope that this perspective would coincide with the judgments of posterity. Rather it coincided more nearly with those of the age immediately preceding. The English authors most sought after by the Americans were those of established reputation, either gentlemen and ladies who were enjoying in their latter years the results of their previous work, or writers who had won contemporary favor, as did Scott, by producing exactly what the public wanted. The American observer had learned his English literature from the same sources as the average Englishman. His own magazines copied generously from those of England, and his own publishers found greater profit in reprinting the novels of Disraeli or Scott without copy-right royalties than in venturing to put forth the work of native Americans. His literary fads had, therefore, a marked tendency to follow those of England, and if he was free of one prejudice, he usually substituted another for it. Where he was uninfluenced by the curse of domestic politics, which so controlled the criticism of

the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*, and by the social dominance of literature which ostracised Shelley and lionized Disraeli, he suffered instead from political jealousy and hurt pride on the one hand, and from too great a reverence for old England on the other. He gives us a different and altogether interesting picture of literary England, but his limited perspective, in spite of his basic intelligence and his eagerness to learn, is somewhat disappointing.

In his appreciation of the human aspects of those authors he visited, however, his comments have greater value. It is hard to believe that Scott and Cooper belonged to two separate nations which, for almost forty years, had been in a state of actual or near hostility. In the realm of literature the bonds of humanity and a common language so far counter-balanced political hostilities and national rivalries as to make harmony inevitable. The Americans were not jealous because, as Irving admitted, they had nothing with which to rival England's supremacy; and the English were uniformly cordial because their guests were their admirers. As long as the American visitors were willing to sit at their feet, the English literary celebrities were not immune to the flattery implied and spoken; the Americans were wise enough to accept the situation and to profit by the rich culture of the older country. The result was that they were afforded an unexampled opportunity of surveying the accepted English literary world from a fresh viewpoint and of recounting its human and personal aspects in records that vary from hurried letters to formal travel books to be printed and read at home.

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THE INDIANS OF THE LEATHER-STOCKING TALES

BY GREGORY LANSING PAINE

I

In Cooper's varied presentation of America, no aspect is more vividly pictured than that of the epic conflict between the red man of the forest and the white man of the clearing. Throughout the *Leather-Stocking Tales* runs the great theme of a westward-moving frontier—a theme through which one hears again and again the sombre undertones of pathos and defeat, as a strong, primitive people retreats, step by step, before a relentlessly advancing civilization.

From the recurrence of this theme it is obvious that Cooper was deeply interested in the American Indians as a significant part of America. He was interested in their history and legends, and in their ethnic development and decline. As a critic of America, he saw a primitive people deprived of their birthright and wasted in their power and strength. To him, the development of America could be justified only if it were done righteously. Therefore his romantic interest in the early native America, together with his rigid conception of right and justice, led him to consider the Indians not as obstacles in the pathway of civilization, but as a people of native abilities and virtues that warranted preservation.

Although it is generally acknowledged that Cooper's conception of the American Indian is of outstanding importance in the history of the red man in literature, certain fallacies and misconceptions concerning his method and material have arisen. It is the purpose of this article to attempt to answer the following questions, which Cooper's biographers and critics have discussed, but concerning which no satisfactory conclusions have been reached: (1) Where did Cooper get his apparently authoritative knowledge of Indian history and character? (2) Is Cooper's treatment of the Indian realistic or idealistic?

In the first place, it has been assumed, without warrant, that Cooper's knowledge of the Indians depended upon his having lived among them in the pioneer settlement of Cooperstown. Mary E. Phillips, for example, states this view as follows:

The Six Nations were yet a power in the Mohawk valley. . . . The boy was face to face with the "grim warriors, braves, and chieftains" that

the man, Fenimore Cooper, translated into his pages, with a touch true to the red man's life.¹

As a matter of fact, there were no wild Indians about Otsego Lake when Cooper was a boy. Doubtless he saw roving bands of degenerate, half-breed Indians, who camped in the swamps and sold baskets and medicines to the settlers. Such bands did indeed roam about central New York even as late as the second quarter of the century; but by 1789, when Cooper was born, the few remaining Indians, apart from these rovers, were on the reservations of Long Island or in the central and northern parts of the state. A sketch of the Indian history of central New York will account for the early disappearance of the Indians.²

Before the coming of the white men, the Algonquins probably occupied the head waters of the Susquehanna River, and the Lenni Lenape of that nation claimed the region. At a later time, probably even as late as the seventeenth century, the Iroquois supplanted the Lenape, and gave Iroquois names to all natural features, except the Susquehanna River, which had taken its name from the Algonquin tribe of Susquehannocks. In 1753, Gideon Hawley, who made a missionary tour through the region and wrote a journal of his adventures, followed deep-worn Indian trails along the rivers and lakes, but found only a few small Indian villages on the upper Susquehanna. At this time the fur trappers and traders were being supplanted by white settlers. In 1768 Sir William Johnson negotiated the Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois and allied Indians, by which a vast territory east of the Ohio, Susquehanna, and Unadilla Rivers was first opened to settlement. The Otsego Lake region was within this grant, and was abandoned by the Indians, except for raids.³

¹ *James Fenimore Cooper*, New York, 1913, pp. 12, 13.

² The Indian history of New York has been written by such authorities as William Beauchamp, William W. Campbell, Lewis H. Morgan, and William L. Stone. Among the local historians are Willard Yager, Francis W. Halsey, Sherman Williams, and Adrian A. Pierson. Of special value is the article by Adrian A. Pierson, "The Prehistoric Indian in Otsego and His Immediate Successor," in *The Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association*, xiv, 103-119.

³ Halsey, Francis W., *The Old New York Frontier*, New York, 1913, pp. 101 ff.

Birdsall, Ralph, *The Story of Cooperstown*, Cooperstown, N. Y., 1917, p. 1-22.

During the Revolutionary War, the Iroquois, with the exception of a few Oneidas, sided with the British. These Indians, led by Joseph Brant, served under Colonel William Butler, and, with his Tory troops, helped to lay waste the frontier. There were many massacres, of which the most sanguinary were those in Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and at Cherry Valley, a few miles west of Coopers-town, both in 1778. General Washington planned terrible reprisals for these depredations by the Tories and Indians. By his order the country was not to be "merely overrun, but destroyed." General Sullivan, who received these orders, took them literally. He sent General Clinton with a few thousand men over to Otsego Lake to descend the Susquehanna. Sullivan and Clinton joined their forces at Tioga Point. After defeating the Indians in battle, they began the work of devastation. The destruction of the houses, orchards, cornfields, and storehouses of the Iroquois was ruthless. Stone says that "the Indians were hunted like wild beasts, till neither house nor fruit-trees, nor field of corn, nor inhabitant remained in the whole country."⁴ After Sullivan had left the country, the Indians returned to view the blackened ruins of their ancestral homes. Destitute of all their possessions, they marched to Niagara, where the English built huts for them. During the winter hundreds died from disease. In the spring, maddened by their losses and eager for revenge, the Iroquois continued fighting on the side of the English against the colonists, or engaged in small bloody raids against them. After the treaty of peace they scattered along the border and through Canada. Through the exertions of Brant, a tract of land was obtained for the remnant of the Mohawks on the Grand River in Canada. Many returned to New York and were placed upon reservations. The number of Iroquois was never large. It is estimated that in 1774 there were only between 10,000 and 12,000.⁵

When Judge Cooper visited Otsego Lake in 1785, he found a wilderness with no settlements or dwellings, either Indian or white. The earlier white settlers had fled during the Revolutionary War. There were no Indians living in the region, although there were

⁴ Quoted by Halsey, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁵ Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Washington, 1907, I, 619.

many Indian relics and remains. On the present site of Coopers-town there were clearings and old apple orchards. In later times many Indian relics, both of Algonquin and Iroquois origin, have been found.

As a boy and man, therefore, James Fenimore Cooper saw few Indians. He remarked to an acquaintance:

"You have the advantage of me, for I never was among the Indians. All that I know of them is from reading and hearing my father speak of them."⁶

In 1828, two years after writing *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and thirteen years before writing *The Deerslayer* (1841), Cooper spoke of the Indians in the eastern part of the United States as follows:

In the more interior parts of the country I frequently met parties of the Indians, either traveling, or proceeding to some village, with their wares. They were all alike, a stunted, dirty, and degraded race. . . . An inhabitant of New York is actually as far removed from a savage as an inhabitant of London. . . . A few degraded descendants of the ancient warlike possessors of their country are indeed seen wandering among the settlements, but the Indian must now be chiefly sought west of the Mississippi, to be found in any of his savage grandeur.⁷

Cooper, however, never went west to study the Indians in their native wildness. After his return from Europe in 1833 he retired to the village of Cooperstown to spend the rest of his days. It was not until 1847 that he went further west than Buffalo, and then he went only to central Michigan, which was already a settled region.⁸

Cooper's daughter, Susan Fenimore Cooper, also testifies as to the meagreness of her father's first-hand knowledge of the Indians. She says:

His own opportunities of intercourse with the red men had been few; occasionally some small party of the Oneidas, or other representatives of

⁶ Wilson, J. G., *Bryant and His Friends*, New York, 1886, p. 337.

⁷ *Notions of the Americans*, Philadelphia, 1828, I, 237 and 245.

⁸ Lounsbury, T. R., *James Fenimore Cooper*, Boston, 1882, p. 258. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

the Five Nations, had crossed his path in the valley of the Susquehanna, or on the shores of Lake Ontario, where he served when a midshipman in the navy. And more recently, since the idea of introducing these wild people into his books had occurred to him, he had been at no little pains to seize every opportunity offered for observation. Fortunately for his purpose, deputations to Washington from the Western tribes, were quite frequent at that moment; he visited these different parties as they passed through Albany and New York, following them in several instances to Washington, and with a view also to gathering information from the officers and interpreters who accompanied them.⁹

This evidence indicates that little of Cooper's knowledge of the Indians was gained by actual observation.¹⁰ What, then, were the literary sources of his Indian material? Miss Cooper says concerning this:

The writer [of *The Last of the Mohicans*] has been at pains to obtain accurate details regarding Indian life and character . . . ; the earlier writers on these subjects, Heckwelder [sic], Charlevoix, Penn, Smith, Elliott [sic], Colden, were studied. The narratives of Lang, of Lewis and Clarke [sic], of Mackenzie, were examined.¹¹

This painstaking search for authentic material, for exactness of detail, is thoroughly in accordance with Cooper's method of work.¹² An intimate study of his literary art does away forever with the idea that he "took the easiest path across country." He wove his great tapestries with care. When the chosen threads were drawn from his own experience, they were of rich color and sound workmanship; when they were, of necessity, drawn from the experience of others, Cooper spared no pains to get the best quality obtainable. In spite, therefore, of the sensitive pride of authorship which prevented Cooper's ever admitting the use of specific source material,

⁹ *Pages and Pictures from the Writings of James Fenimore Cooper, with Notes*, New York, 1861, pp. 130, 131.

¹⁰ In a chapter in *Notions of the Americans* (I, 277-288), Cooper discusses the Indians. He describes a visit to King Peter, a former sachem, but now a sullen solitary, who complains that "basket-stuff" is getting scarce.

¹¹ *Pages and Pictures*, p. 130.

¹² In my unpublished dissertation, *James Fenimore Cooper as an Interpreter and Critic of America*, the University of Chicago, August, 1924, from which this study is in part taken, I have discussed in greater detail Cooper's literary method.

Miss Cooper's statement is exactly what one would expect; and it remains only to find, if possible, the particular source that determined Cooper's interpretation of the American Indian as exemplified in the great characters of Chingachgook and Uncas.

There is one outstanding and fundamental peculiarity in Cooper's presentation of the Indians; namely, that throughout the *Leather-Stocking Tales*, in direct opposition to the generally accepted opinion, he glorifies the Delawares and scorns the Iroquois. Now Heckewelder, of all earlier writers on the Indians, holds the same view of the relative merits of the Delawares and Iroquois. Moreover, when a close study of Heckewelder reveals not only this striking similarity but also many other similarities in interpretation and detail, one is forced to the conclusion that Cooper got his material for the *Leather-Stocking Tales*, except possibly for *The Prairie*, from Heckewelder's *Indian Nations*.¹³ In order to prove this, it will be well to give an account of Heckewelder's life and missionary work, and an abstract of his views relating to the Delaware Indians, as given in his *Indian Nations*, as a basis for a further analysis of the *Leather-Stocking Tales*.

John Heckewelder (1743-1825) was a clergyman of the Moravians, or United Brethren. From 1762 to 1788 he was an irreproachable and indefatigable missionary to the various bands of Delaware Indians in Pennsylvania and Ohio, making many toilsome journeys across the mountains and through the wilderness, suffering almost unbelievable privations and hardships. He and his

¹³ The complete title is "An account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States." This is one of the three reports written by Heckewelder for Volume I (1819) of the publications of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. The other two parts are the following:

2. "Correspondence between Mr. Heckewelder and Mr. Duponceau on the languages of the American Indians."

3. "Words, Phrases, and Short Dialogues in the Language of the Lenni Lenape."

The first part is the important one. It was republished, in a new and revised edition, in Philadelphia, 1876, with a slight change of title: "History, manners and customs of the Indian nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring states."

I used this later edition, and for convenience I refer to it as *Indian Nations*.

brother missionaries succeeded in persuading several hundreds of Indians to accept the Christian doctrines, to give up many of their beliefs and habits, and to imitate the white men in building settlements and in clearing the wilderness for farms. The band of Delawares and Mohegans, with which Heckewelder was especially connected, settled, after many migrations, upon the Muskingum River about seventy miles west of the present city of Pittsburgh. Here the "praying Indians" were contented and peaceful in a semi-agricultural life until the border warfare of the Revolution broke up their settlements. The British authorities moved the few remaining Indians to the Huron River near Detroit, to which place Heckewelder accompanied them.

Heckewelder, indeed, spent most of his life with this small band of Delawares and Mohegans, working with them, preaching to them, and learning their language. Other missionaries lost their faith in Indian nature, but the zealous Heckewelder retained his youthful, simple trust. He listened eagerly to the Indian traditions and legends, and believed them.¹⁴ In his old age he was persuaded by Dr. Wistar to write the results of his Indian studies for the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.¹⁵

Heckewelder divides his *Indian Nations* into forty-four chapters, of which the first five treat of the history of the "Lenape and their kindred tribes," and their relations with the Iroquois. In his preparation of this history of the Indians, Heckewelder acknowledges his indebtedness to the earlier Moravian historians and to his missionary colleagues. He refers to John Christopher Pylraes, a Moravian missionary, who collected notes and memoranda in a large manuscript book. He refers more often to George Henry Loskiel, another Moravian missionary, who published in 1789 his work entitled *Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nordamerika*. Another missionary friend was David Zeisberger, who had also collected notes on the Indians.

Heckewelder begins the history with the story of the mythical

¹⁴ These facts are from Reichel's Introduction to Heckewelder's *Indian Nations*, Philadelphia, 1876.

¹⁵ In 1820 Heckewelder published *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, from 1740 to 1808, interspersed with Anecdotes, Historical Facts, Speeches of Indians*, etc. Philadelphia.

migration of the Lenni Lenape. According to tradition this large and powerful nation dwelt centuries ago in the western part of the American continent. Having determined to migrate eastward, the Indians of this nation set out in a body. After a long journey they arrived at the Namaesi Sippi (Mississippi), where they fell in with the Mengwe (Iroquois, or Five Nations), who were likewise migrating. The two nations united and defeated the Alligewi, who had disputed their path. The conquerors divided the country between them, the Mengwe, or Iroquois, choosing the lands in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, and the Lenape, or Delawares, taking possession of the lands to the southeast and on the eastern coast.

The Lenape, or Delawares, having fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided into three tribes: The *Unâmîs*, with the turtle or tortoise emblem, the *Unalachtgo* (turkey), and the *Minsi*, or *Monseys* (wolf). New tribes sprang from the parent stock, each acknowledging the Lenni Lenape to be its "grandfather." One such tribe was the *Mahicanni*, or Mohicans, who crossed the Mahicannituck (Hudson) River, and settled in the country which now composes the eastern states.

The association between the Delawares and the Mengwe was soon broken by the treachery of the latter. For centuries after the rupture, bloody wars were waged between the Delawares and the confederated Mengwe. During this period of struggle, the French had settled in Canada, and it was not long before they too were at war with the Mengwe, whom they called the "Iroquois."

Heckewelder continues as follows:

At last the Iroquois, finding themselves between two fires, and without any prospect of conquering the Lenape by arms . . . fell upon a stratagem, which they flattered themselves would, if successful, secure to them not only a peace with the Lenape, but also with all the other tribes connected with them; so that they would then have but one enemy [the French] to contend with.

The plan was very deeply laid, and was calculated to deprive the Lenape and their allies, not only of their power but of their military fame, which had exalted them above all other Indian nations.

They [the Iroquois] had reflected, they said, deeply reflected on their critical situation; there remained no resource for them, but that some magnanimous nation should assume the part and situation of the *woman*. It could not be given to a weak or contemptible tribe, such would not be listened to; but the Lenape and their allies would at once possess influence and command respect. As men they had been dreaded; as women

they would be respected and honored, none would be so daring or so base as to attack or insult them; as women they would have a right to interfere in all the quarrels of other nations, and to stop or prevent the effusion of Indian blood. They intreated them, therefore, to become *the woman* in name and, in fact, to lay down their arms and all the insignia of warriors, to devote themselves to agriculture and other pacific employments, and thus become the means of preserving peace and harmony among the nations.

The Lenape, unfortunately for themselves, listened to the voice of their enemies. . . . They believed that the Mengwe were sincere, and that this proposal had no object in view but the preservation of the Indian race. In a luckless hour they gave their consent, and agreed to become *women*.¹⁶

The Lenape accepted this proposal in good faith, but later the Iroquois treacherously claimed that the Delawares had been made *women* through defeat in war.

Although the Delawares treated the whites fairly, they were themselves badly used by the Dutch and English settlers. The Delawares had welcomed Hudson to Manhattan Island. In 1682 they made a treaty with William Penn, whom they called "Miquon," which was to last "as long as the sun should shine and the rivers flow with water." The Delaware chief who signed this treaty by affixing his mark was Tamenend, later called Tammany. Heckewelder refers to him in terms of high praise:

He was an ancient Delaware chief, who never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess.¹⁷

Notwithstanding this treaty, the Delawares, after Penn's death, were injured by the English in alliance with the Iroquois. In 1742 the English called upon the Iroquois to compel the Delawares to give up their lands. The Iroquois carried out the commands of the English and forced the Delawares from their possessions. This aroused the enmity of the Delawares against the English, and later, in the French and Indian War, they sided with the French.

After the first five historical chapters in Heckewelder's *Indian Nations*, there are thirty-nine chapters that form one long panegyric on the excellences of the Delawares. The following quotations

¹⁶ *Indian Nations*, pp. 56-58.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

from several of these chapters will serve two purposes: first, to show how Heckewelder stresses the excellences of these Indians; second, to show the extent to which the Indians in Cooper's *Leather-Stocking Tales* are similar to Heckewelder's Indians.

Chapter VI. General Characteristics of the Indians.—The Indian considers himself as a being created by an all-powerful, wise, and benevolent *Mannitto*; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use by the Great Spirit who gave him life; he therefore believes it to be his duty to adore and worship his Creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favours, thank him for his present blessings, and solicit the continuation of his good will.

Everything was given in common to the sons of men. Whoever liveth on the land, whatsoever groweth out of the earth, and all that is in the rivers and waters flowing through the same, was given jointly to all, and every one is entitled to his share. From this principle, hospitality flows as from its source. With them it is not a virtue but a strict duty.

They treat each other with civility, and shew much affection on meeting after an absence.

They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other.

They do not fight with each other; they say fighting is only for dogs and beasts.

Chapter VII. Government.—Although the Indians have no code of laws for their government, their chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them. They are supported by able experienced counsellors; men who study the welfare of the nation, and are equally interested with themselves in its prosperity.

Chapter VIII. Education.—It may justly be a subject of wonder, how a nation without a written code of laws or system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistrate, can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues; how a people can be well and effectually governed without any external authority; by the mere force of the ascendancy which men of superior minds have over those of a more ordinary stamp; by a tacit, yet universal submission to the aristocracy of experience, talents, and virtue.

Chapter IX. Oratory.—The eloquence of the Indians is natural and simple; they speak what their feelings dictate without art and without rule; their speeches are forcible and impressive, their arguments are few and pointed; and when they mean to persuade as well as convince, they take the shortest way to reach the heart. I know that their oratorical powers have been strongly controverted, and this is not astonishing, when we consider the prejudice that exists against their languages, which are in general believed to be poor, and inadequate to the expression of any but the most common ideas.

Chapter XII. Metaphorical Expressions.—The Indians are fond of metaphors. They are to their discourses what feathers and beads are to their persons, a gaudy but tasteless ornament.¹⁸

Chapter XIV. Intercourse with Each Other.—It is a striking fact that the Indians, in their uncivilized state, should so behave towards each other as though they were a civilized people! . . . They often meet for the purpose of conversation, and their sociability appears to be a recreation to them, a renewal of good fellowship.

Chapter XV. Political Manœuvres.—In the management of their national affairs, the Indians display as much skill and dexterity, perhaps, as any people upon earth.

Chapter XVI. Marriage and the Treatment of Their Wives.—There are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, indeed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are imposed upon females in civilized society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on a savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Chapter XVII. Respect for the Aged.—There is no nation in the world who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians.

Chapter XVIII. Pride and Greatness of Mind.—The Indians are proud but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. The hunter never boasts of his skill or strength, nor the warrior of his prowess.

Chapter XXIII. General Observation of the Indians on the White People.—The Indians believe that the whites were made by the same Great Spirit who created them, and that he assigned to each different race of men a particular employment in this world, but not the same to all. To the whites the great Manitto gave it in charge to till the ground and raise by cultivation the fruits of the earth; to the Indians he assigned the nobler employment of hunting, and the supreme dominion over all the rest of the animal creation.

Chapter XLIV. The Indians and the Whites Compared.—Every person who is well acquainted with the true character of the Indians will admit that they are peaceable, sociable, obliging, charitable, and hospitable among themselves, and that those virtues are, as it were, a part of their nature.

Here and there throughout the book the author grudgingly admits that his Indians have a few excusable faults. For example:

¹⁸ Heckewelder gives a list of forty-nine metaphorical expressions.

But we must now look to the other side of the picture. It cannot but be acknowledged that the Indians are in general revengeful and cruel to their enemies. That even after the battle is over, they wreak their deliberate revenge on their defenceless prisoners; that in their wars they are indifferent about the means which they pursue for the annoyance and destruction of their adversaries, and that surprise and stratagem are as often employed as open force.¹⁹

Heckewelder repeatedly maintains that he is not picturing Indians "who have been corrupted by a long intercourse with the worst class of white men," but the "true genuine Indians" of an earlier time. Through his observation and his simple acceptance of old Indian traditions, therefore, he believed in the superiority of the early Indians.

The volume of 1819, which included the *Indian Nations*, was highly praised by the early reviewers, but after a few years Heckewelder and his publications were severely attacked. Allibone says:

His account of the Indians excited considerable attention, and was favorably received by Nathan Hale, in the *North American Review*, ix, 155-178, and by J. Pickering in the same periodical, ix, 179-187; it was unfavorably noticed, with the admission of some merits, by General Lewis Cass, in the same journal, xxii, 357-403. It was also attacked by John Penington, an intelligent antiquary of Philadelphia, in a *Review of Yates and Moulton's History of New York*, pub. in the *United States Review*, January, 1834.²⁰

Nathan Hale, the critic, wrote in 1819:

The work abounds in facts and anecdotes, calculated not merely to entertain the reader, but to lay open, in the most authentic and satisfactory manner, the character and condition of this people. There is no other work extant, in which this design has been so extensively adopted, or in which the object is so fully accomplished. There is no work upon the North American Indians which can bear any comparison with it for the means of correct information possessed by the author, or for the copiousness of its details.²¹

In the same year J. Pickering wrote:

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

²⁰ Allibone, Samuel A., *Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* . . . Philadelphia, [1858-98], i, 51.

²¹ "Review of Heckewelder's *An account of the History* . . .," *North American Review*, ix, 178.

. . . every man who reads Mr. Heckewelder's work with the same candour with which it is written, will be surprised to perceive how much their [the Delaware Indians] blemishes of character have been exaggerated, and how little we have known of their virtue."²²

Cooper was much influenced in his choice and treatment of Indian material by W. H. Gardiner, who, in 1822, advised him to write tales of Indian life and to get his material from Heckewelder as the best historian of the Indians:

At the present day, enough is known of our aborigines to afford the groundwork of invention, enough is concealed to leave full play for the warmest imagination; and we see not why those superstitions of theirs . . . may not be successfully employed . . . to light up a new train of glowing visions, at the touch of some future wizard of the West. . . . And if we may credit the flattering pictures of their best historian, the indefatigable Heckewelder, not a little of softer interest might be extracted from their domestic life."²³

In 1826 General Lewis Cass disparaged Heckewelder and mildly reproved Cooper for getting his materials from that source:

The effect of Mr. Heckewelder's work, upon the prevailing notions respecting Indian history, is every day more and more visible. . . . In one of those beautiful delineations of American scenery, incidents, and manners, for which we are indebted to the taste and talent of our eminent novelist, "the last of the Mohegans" [sic] is an Indian of the school of Mr. Heckewelder, and not of the school of nature."²⁴

By 1826 Gardiner, probably influenced by Cass, seemed to have forgotten his former advice to Cooper, for he now belittled Heckewelder and regretted Cooper's reliance upon the Indian historian:

He has relied exclusively upon the narrations of the enthusiastic and visionary Heckewelder, whose work is more eulogium upon the virtues of his favorite tribe, and contains, mixed with many interesting facts, a world of pure imagination. . . . It is therefore with great regret, that we have seen his wild tradition adopted by an author so generally read and so deservedly popular, for the sober voice of history, and the whole fable of

²² "Review of Correspondence between Heckewelder and Duponceau respecting the Language of the American Indians," *North American Review*, ix, 187.

²³ "Review of the Spy," *North American Review*, xv, 256.

²⁴ "Review on books by John D. Hunter and John Halkett on the Indians," *North American Review*, xxii, 67.

the superior virtues and glories of the Lenni Lenape, incorporated into this tale, for such it must be called.²⁵

In 1828 Cass rejected Heckewelder's account in even stronger terms:

His account is pure unmixed panegyric. The most idle traditions of the Indians with him become sober history; their superstition is religion; their indolence, philosophical indifference or pious resignation; their astonishing improvidence, hospitality; and many other defects in their character are converted into the corresponding virtues.²⁶

In the same article Cass charged Cooper with having adopted Heckewelder's inaccuracies in *The Last of the Mohicans* and *The Prairie*. He regrets that Cooper had not crossed "the Alleghany instead of the Atlantic" in order to "survey the red man in the forests and prairies, which yet remain to him," and that he had "wandered from nature in following the path marked out by Mr. Heckewelder." He devotes several pages to showing that Cooper followed "the book of Mr. Heckewelder, instead of the book of nature" in writing *The Last of the Mohicans*. He concludes by saying that "his Uncas and his Pawnee Hardheart . . . are the Indians of Mr. Heckewelder, and not the fierce and crafty warriors and hunters, that roam through our forests."²⁷

While never admitting that he had followed Heckewelder, Cooper never actually denied it. In the Preface to a new edition of the *Leather-Stocking Tales* he shows, however, that he esteemed highly Heckewelder's knowledge of the Indians:

It has been objected to these books that they give a more favorable picture of the red man than he deserves. The writer apprehends that much of this objection arises from the habits of those who have made it. One of his critics [Lewis Cass], on the appearance of the first work in which Indian character was portrayed, objected that its "characters were Indians of the school of Heckewelder, rather than of the school of Nature." These words quite probably contain the substance of the true answer to the objection. Heckewelder was an ardent, benevolent missionary, bent on

²⁵ "Review of the *Pioneers; The Last of the Mohicans*," *North American Review*, xxiii, 166, 167.

²⁶ "Review of William Rawle's *A Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations*," *North American Review*, xxvi, 336-367.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 373 ff.

the good of the red man, and seeing in him one who had a soul, reason, and characteristics of a fellow-being. The critic is understood to have been a very distinguished agent of the Government, one very familiar with Indians, as they are seen at the councils to treat for the sale of their lands, where little or none of their domestic qualities come into play, and where, indeed, their evil passions are known to have the fullest scope. As just would it be to draw conclusions of the general state of American society from the scenes of the capital, as to suppose that the negotiating of one of these treaties is a fair picture of Indian life.**

Cooper, believing, then, that Heckewelder was the most reliable historian of the Indians of his time, used his *Indian Nations* in assembling material for his early Indian tales, *The Pioneers* and *The Last of the Mohicans*. Having adopted Heckewelder's pronounced views of the superiority of the Delawares and the inferiority of the Iroquois in these early tales of the Leather-Stocking series, he was forced to keep these views in the later novels, *The Pathfinder* and *The Deerslayer*. The following discussion will show that he followed Heckewelder closely and that his impression of the Delawares and Iroquois Indians gained from Heckewelder is consistent from *The Pioneers* of 1823 to *The Deerslayer* of 1841.

All of Cooper's references to the Indians in *The Pioneers* (1823) correspond to the traditional and historical facts given in Heckewelder's *Indian Nations*, as outlined above. At the beginning of Chapter VII of *The Pioneers* appears a clear account of the history of the Delawares, which includes the following subjects: the differences between the two original Indian nations in that section of America now comprising the Eastern States; the organization of the Six Nations; the tribes included in the Lenni Lenape; the New England Indian Wars; the treaty with William Penn, or Miquon; the treaty by which the Delaware Indians were made *women* by the Iroquois; the part that the Delawares took during the Revolution. Throughout the book there are scattered references to the enmity between the Delawares and the Iroquois and to other Delaware traditions.

There is only one Indian character in the book, the Delaware chief, Chingachgook. It is significant that this name is from

** "Preface to the Leather-Stocking Tales," *The Deerslayer*, pp. viii-ix. The edition of Cooper's novels used is the Globe edition; Boston, Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1876. This edition contains the Introductions written by Susan Fenimore Cooper.

Heckewelder, who gives it as "Chingachgook, a large snake."²⁹ Chingachgook is an old Delaware chief who has been christianized by the Moravians—a fact which Leather-Stocking mentions in three instances.

The material for the incident in which Chingachgook shows his skill as an Indian physician is evidently taken from chapters XXX and XXXI of Heckewelder's *Indian Nations*, where the same distinction is made between the reputable "physicians and surgeons" and the quack "doctors or jugglers," that Cooper makes.³⁰

The Last of the Mohicans, however, contains more of the facts from Heckewelder and more of the spirit of his glorification of the Delaware Indians than any other of the Indian tales. The theme of regret for the decline of a noble, primitive race, which merely appears in *The Pioneers*, is dominant in *The Last of the Mohicans*. In this book, as in the other Leather-Stocking Tales, the idealization of the Delawares leads to a corresponding disparagement of the Iroquois and other Indian nations.

The splendid Delawares, Chingachgook and Uncas, are engaged as scouts by the English against the French in the French and Indian War. In the last chapters a band of Delawares is placed in contrast with the savage and inhuman Hurons. As in *The Pioneers*, Cooper includes many references to the traditions of the Delawares. Chingachgook says:

We came from the place where the sun is hid at night, over great plains where the buffaloes live, until we reached the big river. There we fought the Alligewi, till the ground was wet with their blood. . . . We drove the Maquas into the woods with the bears. . . . The Dutch landed and gave my people firewater. . . . Then they parted with their land. Foot by foot they were driven back from the shores, until I, that am a chief and a Sagamore, have never seen the sun shine but through the trees, and have never visited the graves of my fathers.³¹

In a conversation with Heyward about the hated Delaware treaty, by which the Delawares had been made *women*, the scout calls shame upon the Hollanders and the Iroquois, who had "circumvented the Delawares."³²

²⁹ *Correspondence Respecting the Indian Language*, p. 431.

³⁰ *The Pioneers*, p. 400.

³¹ *The Last of the Mohicans*, p. 27.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

In Chapter XXVIII Cooper introduces the Delaware sage Tamenund, who, as indicated above, occupies an important place in Heckewelder's book. In a dramatic scene he comes from his tent, leaning on the shoulders of two aged companions, and receiving the worship of his followers. This century-old chief is dressed in barbaric splendor. His robe is of the finest skins; his breast is covered with glittering medals; his head is encircled with a sparkling diadem ornamented with ostrich feathers; and the handles of the tomahawk and knife are silver and gold. Most reverently the Delawares, and even the Huron Maqua, listen to the words of this oracle as he recites the history of his people and laments the decline of his race.

Among the prisoners who are brought before Tamenund is Uncas, whose identity is unknown at this time. He is condemned to death by fire, and is bound to the stake. When his breast is bared, the awe-struck Indians discover with astonishment the tattooed figure of a small tortoise, which indicates that he is of their kindred and of the highest rank.

"Men of the Lenni Lenape!" he said, "my race upholds the earth! Your feeble tribe stands on my shell! What fire that a Delaware can light would burn the child of my fathers: . . . the blood that came from such a stock would smother the flames! My race is of the grandfather of nations!"

"Who art thou?" demanded Tamenund. . . .

"Uncas, the son of Chingachgook, . . . a son of the great Unâmis" [Turtle].²²

Of the three remaining Leather-Stocking Tales, *The Prairie* (1827) contains no Delaware Indians, for the scenes are laid on the plains west of the Mississippi. In the character of Hard-Heart, however, Cooper represents a noble Indian, one of the type pictured by Heckewelder. He belongs to the Pawnees, the Delawares of the West because they accepted readily the white man's teachings. Furthermore, old Leather-Stocking makes frequent references to the Delawares, praising them for their superior qualities and virtues.

In writing *The Pathfinder* (1840) Cooper retained the same

²²*Ibid.*, p. 369. The idea of "a sparkling diadem ornamented with ostrich feathers" is not from Heckewelder. Cooper has adopted the conventional representation of a savage in his splendor.

conceptions of the Delawares which he had obtained from Heckewelder and which he had employed in the earlier tales of his literary youth. In *The Pathfinder*, as also in *The Deerslayer* (1841), the Delawares are represented as noble, superior Indians, and all others are "Mingoes," treacherous, savage, often cowardly, and inferior in wisdom or prowess. In *The Pathfinder* Chingachgook has the same noble character that he has previously exhibited. In contrast with him is Arrowhead, a treacherous miscreant, who belongs to the Tuscaroras, of the Six Nations. Leather-Stocking makes many long explanations of the peculiar "gifts" of Chingachgook as a mighty representative of the noble Delawares. Besides the frequent references to the comparative merits of the Delawares and the Iroquois, this tale contains several allusions to the myths and traditions of the Delawares, and one instance of the author's reference to the Moravians when he represents Leather-Stocking as saying, "I have not been Christianized by the Moravians, like so many of the Delawares."⁴⁴

In *The Deerslayer* (1841) both *Deerslayer* and Chingachgook have recently come from the Moravian settlements, and Hurry Harry March shows by his remarks that he is familiar with the Moravian teachings. In one conversation *Deerslayer* quotes the Moravian missionary teachings regarding Christian conduct, and Hurry Harry snaps his fingers in derision at that Moravian doctrine which would prevent his killing Indians for their scalps.

In this last tale of the Leather-Stocking series, occur the usual frequent references to the excellencies of the Delawares, under the wise chief Tamenund, and to the vices of the enemy Mingoes. In this book, furthermore, the Delawares are idealized to the highest degree.

Heckewelder's *Indian Nations* contains certain obscurities and contradictions which Cooper obviously noticed and which he attempted to clarify by explanations and simplifications. For example, Heckewelder did not distinguish between the "Mahican" Indians and the "Mohegan" Indians, which were separate, distinct tribes living in different regions. According to Hodge,⁴⁵ the "Mahicans" were a tribe which occupied both banks of the

⁴⁴ *The Pathfinder*, p. 100.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, I, 786, 789, 926, 927.

Hudson River and extended north almost to Lake Champlain. The Dutch called them the "River Indians"; the French grouped them with the Munsee and Delawares under the name of "Loups"; many other names were given to them. The "Mohegans," on the other hand, were a branch of the Pequots, a savage tribe which brought the New Englanders much trouble. Led by the famous chief Uncas, a portion of them separated from the Pequots and settled in the valley of the Thames River in Connecticut, where they strengthened their position by friendly alliances with the white settlers. After the defeat of the hostile Pequots by the whites, and the death of King Philip in 1676, the Mohegans gained more power and territory. In later years, after they had sold most of their lands to the whites, some migrated to Stockbridge, Massachusetts; some to central New York; others joined the Delawares in Pennsylvania, while a few remained on a reservation on the Thames River in Connecticut.

Heckewelder seems to be ignorant of the existence of the Mahican Indians. He makes no distinction between the tribe living along the Hudson and the related tribe in Massachusetts and Connecticut. He calls all "Mahicans," or "Mahicanni," or "Mohicans." His confusion is shown in the following sentence: "The *Mahicanni* have been called by so many different names, that I was at a loss which to adopt, so that the reader might know what people were meant."³⁶

Although Heckewelder distinguishes between the Delawares and the Mahicanni, Cooper makes no distinction between Delawares, Mahicans, and Mohegans, but considers them all as joined in a united, amalgamated tribe. He applies indiscriminately the terms "Delaware," "Mohican," and "Mohegan" to Chingachgook and Uncas. This is a simplification which the unobserving reader accepts without question, but which the student of Indian history finds very confusing. In referring to the title, *The Last of the Mohicans*, Cooper says that the term

has undergone the changes of Mahicanni, Mohicans, and Mohegans; the latter being the word commonly used by the whites. When it is remembered that the Dutch (who first settled New York), the English and the French all gave appellations to the tribes that dwelt within the country

³⁶ *Indian Nations*, p. xli.

which is the scene of this story, and that the Indians not only gave different names to their enemies, but frequently to themselves, the cause of this confusion will be understood. In these pages, Lenni-Lenape, Lenape, Delawares, Wapanachki, and Mohicans, all mean the same people, or tribes of the same stock.⁴⁷

Cooper was half right in this simplification; for by the last half of the eighteenth century, the Mahicans had disappeared, and many of the Mohegans had united with the Delawares. In strict accuracy, however, the title should be *The Last of the Mohegans*, for the young Uncas is represented as being the last chieftain of that tribe of Connecticut Indians formerly led by the great chief Uncas.

Heckewelder was not responsible for a second confusion which Cooper makes. Heckewelder states in several instances that the Delawares aided the French in the French and Indian War. This was a natural alliance, for the Delawares remembered with bitterness the wrongs perpetrated upon them by many of the English after the death of William Penn. Moreover, by taking the part of the French, the Delawares were enabled to fight their hereditary enemies, the Iroquois. In *The Last of the Mohicans*, however, Cooper has Delaware Indians fighting on both sides. Chingachgook and Uncas are with the English, and a band of Delawares are half-hearted supporters of the French. Cooper attempts to explain this as follows:

It is true that white cunning has managed to throw the tribes into great confusion, as respects friends and enemies, so that the Hurons and the Oneidas, who speak the same tongue, take the other's scalps, and the Delawares are divided among themselves; a few hanging about their great council fire on their river, and fighting on the same side with the Mingoes, while the greater part are in the Canadas, out of natural enmity to the Maquas, thus throwing everything into disorder and destroying all the harmony of warfare.⁴⁸

In *The Pathfinder*, which is also a tale of the French and Indian War, Chingachgook is again fighting against the French and the Hurons. No Iroquois appear in this tale except the Tuscarora, Arrowhead.

Cooper's confusion in this matter was doubtless due to a real plot difficulty. Leather-Stocking, as a loyal subject of the King

⁴⁷ *The Last of the Mohicans*, p. vii.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

and also as a patriotic colonial American, naturally fights on the side of the English and colonists against the French. Chingachgook, as a Delaware, is an enemy of the Iroquois, the allies of the English. But if Leather-Stocking and Chingachgook are to be represented as lifelong friends, they must fight as comrades. In both tales, therefore, Chingachgook enlists with Leather-Stocking on the side of the English colonists, and the Iroquois against the French and Hurons. In order to make this more plausible, Chingachgook is represented as a fierce warrior, with a hatred of all Indians that are not Delawares. To him, Hurons, Mohawks, Senecas, Tuscaroras, even the peaceable Oneidas, are "Mingoes," to be slain and scalped. On whichever side he fights there are confederate Indians to be suspected and enemy Indians to be tomahawked.

II

In the preceding discussion passing reference has been made to the alleged idealization of the Indians by Cooper. A brief review of the opinions of biographers and critics regarding this matter will show that a real difference of opinion exists and that the question is far from having been definitely settled. In his review of *The Last of the Mohicans*, W. H. Gardiner charged Cooper with "presenting a false and ideal view of the Indian character." He questioned whether Uncas was true to any tribe, or any age, of Indian history. To him Chingachgook "smacks a little too much of civilization," and Maqua was "one of those licensed instruments of romance, which belong rather to the diabolical orders of creation, than to any tribe of human species, savage or civilized."³⁹

The other early reviewers of Cooper's works agree with Gardiner. Lewis Cass, whose reviews have been mentioned, charged Cooper with following the school of Heckewelder instead of the school of nature. Francis Parkman scorned Cooper's Indians as being "either superficially or falsely drawn." He held Cooper jointly responsible with Thomas Campbell "for the fathering of those heroes, lovers, and sages, who have long formed a petty nuisance in our literature."⁴⁰ After this contemporary criticism of Cooper,

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 150-197.

⁴⁰ "Review of the Works of James Fenimore Cooper," *North American Review*, LXXIV, 150.

little critical interest in his writings appeared until Professor Lounsbury wrote his biography in 1882. Although Lounsbury avoids discussing the Indian question, he indicates, perhaps indirectly, his belief in Cooper's idealization of the Indian character when he says that "if Cooper has given to Indian conversation more poetry than it is thought to possess, or to Indian character more virtue, the addition has been a gain to literature, whatever it may have been to truth."⁴¹

W. C. Brownell takes an opposite view in maintaining that Cooper's Indians are not idealized. He says:

The verisimilitude of Cooper's Indians has been the main point of attack of his caricaturing critics. None of them has failed to have his fling at this. It is extraordinary what a convention his assumed idealization of the Indian has become. I say extraordinary, because it is a fact that the so-called "noble red man," whom he is popularly supposed to have invented, does not exist in his books at all. Successful or not, his Indians, like his other characters, belong to the realm of attempted portraiture of racial types, and are, in intention, at all events, in no wise purely romantic creations.⁴²

Brownell's virile championship of Cooper has influenced the critics since 1906. Miss Loshe says that the virtues which Cooper attributed to the Indians "are those with which they are generally credited by people who knew the Indian before he came in contact with the blessings of civilization as disseminated by the trader."⁴³

Not one of these critics has said the whole truth about the matter, as the comparison of Cooper's tales with Heckewelder's *Indian Nations* has shown. No critic seems to have observed that Cooper's method of Indian characterization in the Leather-Stocking Tales changes from a realistic treatment in *The Pioneers* (1823) to an increasing idealization through *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deerslayer* (1841).⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁴² "Cooper," *Scribner's Magazine*, April, 1906. Also in *American Prose Masters*, New York, 1909, p. 21.

⁴³ Loshe, L. D., *The Early American Novel*, New York, 1907, p. 89.

⁴⁴ I have traced this development of Cooper's art in the unpublished theses, *Realism in the Novels of James Fenimore Cooper*, University of Chicago, 1920, and *James Fenimore Cooper as an Interpreter and Critic of America*, University of Chicago, 1924.

In another article I intend to present a study of Cooper's art in the creation and development of the character of Leather-Stocking.

In *The Pioneers* Chingachgook is the last lingerer of his race in a new settlement of unfriendly whites. There is little romantic glamour cast about this old Indian John, a broken-down, drunken vagrant, compelled to make brooms for sale to the hated despoilers of his hunting grounds. Although he has listened to the religious teachings of the white men, he has accepted more readily their whiskey. At times he gives hints of his former nobility and sagacity, or he awes his companions with outbursts of savage ferocity, but usually he is dull and spiritless. Only in dying is he picturesque. In war-paint and feathers, with a medallion of Washington hanging from his neck, he wraps his blanket around him and calmly awaits the flames of the approaching forest fire.

In *The Last of the Mohicans* Chingachgook is a warrior in prime manhood. As a scout he has the uncanny sixth sense of wild creatures in following mazy trails and in never getting lost. But with all his wonderful powers of body and skill in woodcraft, he does not seem superior to other Indians in history, for he does not show those powers of persuasion and leadership which great Indian chiefs possessed. In history there have been such chiefs as Joseph Brant, Red Jacket, Cornplanter, King Philip, and a score of others, who surpassed Chingachgook in ability.

In this book the character of Uncas is idealized. In representing him as the last of the noble Mohegans, Cooper has invested him with all the powers of his father Chingachgook, and with some additional high traits besides. The main interest in Uncas, however, is a sentimental one—that so fine a young warrior and the last chief of his tribe should die in youth.

In *The Pathfinder* the character of Chingachgook is not materially changed. Perhaps he has more skill and cunning, for he is always able to outwit his Huron enemies. The Pathfinder has ever the highest praise for his trusted friend. He even half convinces the reader that Chingachgook is right in taking scalps because a red man's "gifts" differ from those of a white man.

In *The Deerslayer* the character of Chingachgook is most completely idealized. In this last book of the series, he is a young Indian chief, the ideal red man of the forest, strong and active in body, wise and cunning in the lore of the woods. He is placed in a natural setting of forests, mountains, lakes, and rivers, the

primeval condition of beauty and wildness before the despoliation by the white man. Chingachgook is engaged in a romantic adventure—to rescue from the enemy the Indian girl whom he loves. In this quest he is assisted by Deerslayer. In the many exciting adventures which they share, Chingachgook shows that he possesses the ordinary white man's virtues, as well as the best traits of the Indian. In comparison with the ex-pirate, Tom Hutter, and the outlaw, Hurry Harry, he is noble and generous. No Indian is his superior; no white man, except Deerslayer, is his equal. The succession of his exploits culminates in one supreme act, when he silently enters the circle of his enemies, and calmly, heroically, stands by the side of Deerslayer at the torture post. Throughout the book, in every incident, Chingachgook appears as a high type of red man.

This, then, would seem to be the truth concerning Cooper's use and interpretation of Indian character: although he had slight first-hand knowledge of the Indians, he availed himself of every opportunity to obtain what he considered accurate information. In basing his early Indian characters, Chingachgook and Uncas, upon Heckewelder, he was following, according to his belief, the most reliable authority known at that time. Then, in the course of years, his creative imagination worked upon the character of Chingachgook, until this Indian hero assumed epic proportions and became the noble representative of a wronged and vanishing race, which, in Cooper's view, actually possessed qualities enabling it to assimilate the highest mental and moral attributes and attainments of the white man.

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SELF-PORTRAITURE IN THE WORK OF NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

BY AMY LOUISE REED

Hawthorne's motive in attempting authorship was not self-revelation or even self-expression in any real sense. At the end of *The Old Manse* (1846), which is avowedly autobiographical, he defends himself from the charge of egotism, and congratulates himself on his successful avoidance of anything like self-exposure. "How little have I told! and of that little, how almost nothing is even tinged with any quality that makes it exclusively my own! . . . So far as I am a man of really individual attributes, I veil my face; nor am I, nor have I ever been, one of those supremely hospitable people who serve up their own hearts, delicately fried, with brain sauce, as a tidbit for their beloved public." Under a second autobiographical impulse, as he himself calls it, he wrote *The Custom House*, the sketch prefixed to *The Scarlet Letter* (1850); but here, too, he voices his disapproval of authors who "indulge themselves in such confidential depths of revelation as could fittingly be addressed, only and exclusively to the one heart and mind of perfect sympathy." He is disinclined to talk overmuch of himself and his affairs even in his own home and to his personal friends. His vein of autobiography is only for the initiated few who, having read and liked his earlier work (*Twice-Told Tales*), have thereby proved themselves better able to understand him than his fellow townsmen. He will imagine himself to be speaking to a kind and sensitive, though not very close friend, willing to listen to his talk. Then, "a native reserve being thawed by this genial consciousness"—and here he wraps himself in the cloak of the editorial plural—"we may prate . . . of ourself, but still keep the inmost me behind its veil." In *Mrs. Hutchinson*, an early sketch, Hawthorne deplores the entry of woman into the profession of authorship on the ground that "there is a delicacy . . . that perceives, or fancies, a sort of impropriety in the display of woman's natal mind to the gaze of the world, with indications by which its inmost secrets may be searched out." If she possesses genius and obeys its promptings, she must realize that she does so at a great price—"relinquishing a part of the loveliness of her sex."

Yet Hawthorne's personal history during his formative period as an artist is such as to drive us to the conclusion that his material must be autobiographical, for he had access to no other. Everyone knows the strange tale of those years of young manhood, between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-three, spent in his mother's house in Salem; writing the *Seven Tales* which, after their refusal by seventeen publishers, he burned; writing *Fanshawe*, of which he published a small edition at his own expense, later successfully suppressed; printing an occasional tale in some obscure magazine; keeping an exact journal (*The American Note Books*) of the minutiae of his daily life, carefully observed and recorded with finish; avoiding all society, even that of his mother and sisters; taking his necessary exercise in the form of a swim at sunrise or a walk after dark; nourishing himself upon the dream of becoming some day an artist.

Henry James, in his penetrating volume on Hawthorne, has emphasized for us the cultural aridity of the small New England town of that day; and Hawthorne himself, after the success of *The Scarlet Letter*, was able to look back upon that early experience and to analyse correctly the causes of his failure to make any impression upon the literary public with the tales written under such circumstances. The stories were, he says in the Preface to the second edition of the *Twice-Told Tales* (1851), "the production of a person in retirement." They lack passion, humor, depth. They are too tame. So he condemns their substance. Yet they have the clarity proper to the style of a man in society. They are the author's "attempts to open an intercourse with the world." He wrote to Longfellow: "I have seen so little of the world that I have nothing but thin air to concoct my stories of . . . Sometimes, through a peep-hole, I have caught a glimpse of the real world, and the two or three articles in which I have portrayed these glimpses, please me better than the others."¹ Even so his own Artist of the Beautiful, working long years in solitude and poverty, made a small but perfect thing of beauty—a butterfly. The mechanism was so successfully contrived that for a few moments the crea-

¹ Quoted by G. P. Lathrop in his Introduction to *Twice-Told Tales*, p. 11. All references are to the Riverside edition of *The Complete Works*, ed. by G. P. Lathrop.

ture was, to all intents and purposes, alive. It was not, however, understood or valued, even by the woman he loved or the innocent child on whose finger it alighted. A few minutes' contact with the real world destroyed it, leaving to the artist only the satisfaction of having, for a brief moment, achieved reality.

From this beating of delicate wings in a vacuum, Hawthorne was startlingly and successfully rescued by the intrusion of that vigorous and original soul, Elizabeth Peabody, his consequent acquaintance with her sister Sophia, love at first sight, and happy marriage, followed by a completely normal family life and the wholesome experience of earning a living for himself and his family under the same circumstances as other Americans. But in spite of the effort of his biographers and critics to prove that the twelve years of almost solitary confinement only gave him time to mature his art, it is hard for the reader of Hawthorne to see in such an experience, or such a lack of it, anything but a cramping of his genius. Milton's twenty years of unliterary labor were at least passed in the thick of great affairs; Masfield's service before the mast was never like looking at life in "Fancy's Show Box"; and Conrad's belated arrival in literature was delayed by reason of many ventures into actual seas. But for Hawthorne, the coal heap and the manure pile, the campaign life written for a friend's sake, the small political job, and the European journey came several years too late. They were all good for him. The first book published after his marriage, *Mosses from an Old Manse*, contains his finest short stories. His greatest work, *The Scarlet Letter*, could scarcely have been written by a man who had not in his own person known passionate love. The truly effective parts of *The Blithedale Romance* are derived from his actual sojourn at Brook Farm. *The Marble Faun* is the result of the actual impact upon his consciousness of a single Greek statue against a background of Italian scenery. Even *The House of Seven Gables* is less the fruit of life in Salem than of getting away from that life. Yet we are almost forced to wonder, not at how much he got from these new contacts, but how little. The immortal power of Greek art as a whole, the best of Italian painting, remain to him a book written in a strange tongue, and he never really assimilates Europe. The development of his art is towards ever greater elaboration of scantier and

scantier materials, until the joy of the whole becomes lost at last in the milder pleasures of detail.

Of some fundamental difficulty with his art Hawthorne, never under much illusion about himself, was perfectly aware. In *The Custom House* sketch just mentioned, he tells us that, during the entire time that he was in that office (1846-9) his imagination refused to work, although his mind had already before it the theme of *The Scarlet Letter*. "A gift, a faculty, if it had not departed, was suspended and inanimate within me," he says. "My imagination was a tarnished mirror. It would not reflect, or only with miserable dimness, the figures with which I did my best to people it." This failure he attributes, quite wrongly as it seems to me, to his having accepted the routine of public office for the sake of mere money. Yet, by his own account, his business life was neither hurried nor exhausting. There was time enough for long walks by the shore and in the woods; there were hours enough of solitary musing by the fire. He himself reminds us that Burns and Chaucer were customs officials in their day. A truer explanation lies, I think, in the supposition that he had exhausted his materials and that time was necessary to secrete more. After three years of thus lying fallow, his imagination germinated once more, and he produced with peculiar certainty and rapidity the three great romances of his life, of which the first is acknowledged to be the best.

But even in so doing he had already accepted a certain measure of defeat. He had deliberately determined not to deal with life as a whole, not to attempt the "serious task," as he calls it, of novel writing, but rather to confine his efforts to what he considered the lesser art of the romance. This he variously phrases as "creating the semblance of a world out of airy matter," blowing a soap-bubble, dreaming strange things and making them look like truth, converting snow images into men and women. He defines it perhaps most clearly by an elaborate analogy with the effect of moonlight upon a familiar room; the everyday objects are there, distinctly seen, but spiritualized, dignified, rendered strange and remote, and thereby become things of the intellect, not warmed by everyday feeling. It is in this "neutral territory," half actual, half imaginary, that nearly all of Hawthorne's work is laid and that he achieved success.

To himself he seemed to have shirked the better part. "The wiser effort would have been to diffuse thought and imagination through the opaque substance of today . . . to seek, resolutely, the true and indestructible value that lay hidden in the petty and wearisome incidents and ordinary characters, with which I was now conversant. The fault was mine. The page of life that was spread out before me seemed dull and commonplace, only because I had not fathomed its deeper import. A better book than I shall ever write was there . . . But these perceptions have come too late."² In this fashion do we find Hawthorne reproaching himself, on the eve of his great success, with his own failure to mingle sympathetically with the actual society into which he was thrown and to interpret truly what he finely phrases as "the united life of mankind."

But even the romance as he conceived it must have a certain reality and must not, as he repeats in the preface to *The House of Seven Gables*, swerve aside from "the truth of the human heart." Now, as I have been saying, Hawthorne, though a good observer, had seen but little of life, and though he caught well enough the external features which individualize a character, when it came to explaining or motivating his character, he declined to penetrate deeply and preferred to conjecture, to dream, and to play with several different explanations. There were, to be sure, few human hearts whose truth Hawthorne really knew—perhaps, indeed, only one, and that his own.

This fact has been frequently enough noticed. Holmes, for instance wrote in 1884:

Count it no marvel that he broods alone
Over the heart, he studies,—'tis his own;
So in his page, whatever shape it wear,
The Essex wizard's shadowed self is there,—
The great *Romancer*, hid beneath his veil
Like the stern preacher of his sombre tale.³

Less obvious and more sinister is the suggestion of Mr. D. H. Lawrence in his *Studies in Classical American Literature*, that, in *The Scarlet Letter* at least, Hawthorne has projected, with subtle irony, the sharp division in his own soul. "Openly, he stands for

² *Scarlet Letter*, pp. 53-57.

³ *At the Saturday Club*.

the upper, spiritual, reasoned being. Secretly he lusts in the sensual imagination, in bruising the heel of his spiritual self and laming it forever." ⁴ These are typical utterances of an older and a newer critic of American authors. If we try to substantiate them by looking carefully at his work for instances of self-portraiture, the cases most easily susceptible of something like proof are the three observer characters, Holgrave, Coverdale, and Kenyon.

Miles Coverdale's function in *The Blithedale Romance* is distinctly that of the author-observer. Not till the last sentence in the book do we learn that he is supposed to be in love with Priscilla, a condition to which his conduct gives almost no clue. His cold-hearted way of staying outside the play of passions is remarked by himself and by others. Even in the secluded circle of Blithedale, he seeks the greater seclusion of self-communion in solitude (p. 421). He likens his own part in the story to that of the Chorus in classic plays. He assists the story only in the French sense. He reproaches himself a number of times, and others also reproach him, first, with an inability to feel that any cause in the world is worth his whole-hearted adherence, and secondly, with a habit of prying into other people's characters for no purpose except the gratification of his curiosity (pp. 398, 415, 463, 495, 502). This second tendency is usually unfavorably presented, as in this passage: "That cold tendency, between instinct and intellect, which made me pry with a speculative interest into people's passions and impulses, appeared to have gone far towards unhumanizing my heart" (p. 495). Once, however, he defends it as no mere vulgar curiosity but rather most delicate appreciation. Zenobia, he says, "should have been able to appreciate that quality of the intellect and the heart which impelled me (often against my own will, and to the detriment of my own comfort) to live in other lives, and to endeavor—by generous sympathies, by delicate intuitions, by taking note of things too slight for record, and by bringing my human spirit into manifold accordance with the companions whom God assigned me—to learn the secret which was hidden even from themselves" (p. 502). The principal actors in the drama should have been glad, he thinks, of being so intelligently seen through.

Such a character has much in common with the young daguerreo-

⁴ *English Review*, v. 28, p. 410. The passage does not exist in the book as published in the United States, though the accusation is even more plain.

typist in *The House of Seven Gables*. The fundamental basis of this story is an idea at which Hawthorne had hinted the previous year in *The Custom House* sketch, in relation to his own family; namely, that "Human nature will not flourish, any more than a potato, if it be planted and replanted, for too long a series of generations, in the same worn-out soil." He speaks also, of his own "strange, indolent, unjoyous attachment" for his native town of Salem. "It is not love, but instinct." There, too, he speaks of his determination that his children, who "have had other birth-places," "shall strike their roots into unaccustomed earth." Of this dual idea, the story is made, the tyranny of their past history and of place ruling the lives of Hepzibah and Clifford, and the escape from such influences being the keynote of the much less interesting love tale of Phoebe and Holgrave.

Holgrave, like Coverdale, appears to be drifting through life, looking on without taking part. Although only twenty-two years old, he has already been engaged in nine different occupations. One of his first speeches to Hepzibah is, "I find nothing so singular in life, as that everything appears to lose its substance the instant one actually grapples with it." Phoebe "scarcely thought him affectionate in his nature. He was too calm and cool an observer" (p. 213). Phoebe "felt his eye often; his heart, seldom or never." He studied all three members of the family attentively. "He was ready to do them whatever good he might; but, after all, he never exactly made common cause with them, nor gave any reliable evidence that he loved them better in proportion as he knew them more. In his relations with them, he seemed to be in quest of mental food, not heart-sustenance." While he is described as having a certain power, we are told that he is pretty certain never to fulfil the promise of his qualities. Later in the story (p. 258), he promises Phoebe that, if opportunity offers, he will help the two unfortunates of the tale, but explains that he has no real impulse either to help or to hinder them, "but to look on, to analyze, to explain matters to myself and to comprehend the drama which, for almost two hundred years, has been dragging its slow length over the ground where you and I now tread. If permitted to witness the close, I doubt not to derive a moral satisfaction from it."

Without wearying ourselves with vain repetitions, we may say

shortly that about the same combination of qualities go to make up the sculptor, Kenyon, in *The Marble Faun*. He is supposed to be in love with Hilda, but the story of his successful suit is so little elaborated that we almost feel it unnecessary. Far more important is his role of observer, confidant, and chorus. He, too, is curious to know what lies behind the events he sees; he, too, has little sympathy with the suffering he witnesses. Unlike Hilda, he does not feel contaminated by the crime of his friends. His curiosity and his coolness are so at war with each other that once, in a striking scene, he refuses to hear Miriam's secret for fear he may somehow be obliged to share her suffering. In fact, Kenyon scarcely acts like a gentleman towards a friend in need. We echo Phoebe's exclamation to Holgrave, "I wish you would behave more like a Christian and a human being!"

That these three are fairly close to Hawthorne's own character there is little doubt. A comparison of *Passages from the American Note Books* from April through October 1841 with chapters I-IX of *The Blithedale Romance* would convince anyone that Miles Coverdale in the story is put through many of Hawthorne's actual experiences at Brook Farm, even to a bad cold in the head, and that he thinks many of Hawthorne's thoughts recorded eleven years before the *Romance* was published. There is plenty of testimony that Hawthorne was absolutely taciturn in society. We can not suppose his silence due merely to shyness, at least in later life. Many friends such as Howells⁵ have told us of his social charm when he chose to exert himself, and he was quite equal to the miscellaneous social demands of his consulship at Liverpool. The cause of his aloofness of manner seems rather to have been an actual lack of sympathy with what he saw and heard. Even in the early years of married life, he spent most of his day apart from his wife. Much as he loved her, her physical presence was not necessary to his happiness. Yet he went readily enough into company, whether that of the tavern or the Saturday Club, for the silent observation of human nature was his keenest pleasure. As early as 1831, in *Sights from a Steeple*, he tells us that "the most desirable mode of existence might be that of a spiritualized Paul Pry, hovering invisible round man and woman, witnessing their

⁵ In *Literary Friends and Acquaintance*, pp. 55-57.

deeds, searching into their hearts, borrowing brightness from their felicity and shade from their sorrow, and retaining no emotion peculiar to himself" (p. 220). Twenty years later in a letter to Horatio Bridge, prefixed to *The Snow Image*, he tells us that he has been burrowing to his utmost ability into the depths of our common nature, for the purposes of psychological romance; and he once more boasts that his apparently autobiographical introductions really give us only externals, matters entirely on the surface. "These things," he declares, "hide the man instead of displaying him." Carelessly then—and, I feel sure, with no expectation that anyone would really accept the challenge—he flings us a hint: "You must make quite another kind of inquest, and look through the whole range of his fictitious characters, good and evil, in order to detect any of his essential traits."

Now the roster of Hawthorne's characters yields a whole procession of persons who, with an immense variety of outward attributes and circumstances, present much this same combination of coldness and aloofness with much outward charm, brilliance, sensitiveness to impressions, and intellectual curiosity or eagerness to discover the secret of life. One very powerful story, *The Christmas Banquet* (1844), presents the figure of Gervayse Hastings, a perennial guest at the banquet arranged each year for the most unhappy of all the earth. "He looks like a man—and, perchance, like a better specimen of man than you ordinarily meet. You might esteem him wise; he is capable of cultivation and refinement, and has at least an external conscience, but the demands that spirit makes upon spirit are precisely those to which he cannot respond. When at last you come close to him you find him chill and unsubstantial—a mere vapor" (p. 322). The other wretched guests, a company which includes the murderer, the idiot, the sick, the bereaved, the unfortunate, the misanthropist, believe he has no business at the banquet, for he is rich, well-dressed, fortunate, and apparently always smiling. At the last he explains—though he has no idea they will understand—that his misfortune is "a chilliness—a want of earnestness—a feeling as if what should be my heart were a thing of vapor—a haunting perception of unreality! Thus seeming to possess all that other men have, I have really possessed nothing, neither joys nor griefs. All things, all persons . . . have been like shadows flickering on the wall. It was so with

my wife and children—with those who seemed my friends: it is so with yourselves, whom I see now before me. Neither have I myself any real existence, but am a shadow like the rest" (p. 345). In his short stories Hawthorne is constantly composing variations on this same theme, the temperament set apart from others by its own defective sympathy, or its greater intelligence, or both, unable to participate in life as a whole and making only shadowy contacts. Feathertop, the man without a heart, ceases to exist when he realizes the cause of his isolation. The painter in *The Prophetic Pictures*, "though gentle in manner, and upright in intent, and action, . . . did not possess kindly feelings; his heart was cold; no living creature could be brought near enough to keep him warm" (p. 206). In *The Artist of the Beautiful*, the perfect work of art, a living butterfly, is killed because it is misunderstood by the world, and this failure is as much the artist's as the world's. In *The Snow Image*, the same story is retold in children's terms. In *The Birth-mark*, the scientist, a man of fine character and noble purpose, forgets the claims of love and the consideration due to human weakness in the eagerness of the intellectual quest, uses human life for the purposes of experiment—that is, coldly, scientifically, impersonally—and destroys the very life he hopes to perfect. Hollingsworth, the philanthropist in *The Blithedale Romance*, is guilty of the same unscrupulous behavior towards his friend Coverdale and towards the two women who love him; and he, too, fails to accomplish the social benefit he intends for mankind.

These characters are all such as may, at least outwardly, be classed as "good." In such a figure as Rappaccini, on the other hand, who "cares infinitely more for science than for mankind," and who "would sacrifice human life, his own among the rest, or whatever else was dearest to him, for the sake of adding so much as a grain of mustard seed to the great heap of his accumulated knowledge" (p. 116), this favorite conception of Hawthorne's passes over into the realm of evil. Rappaccini, like and unlike the Artist of the Beautiful, has learned how to create life, but only of a poisonous variety. His learning spreads death in the world.

In fact, this cold curiosity in its extreme form is Hawthorne's idea of the unpardonable sin. Ethan Brand, laughing without mirth, takes pride in having committed "a sin that grew nowhere else!"—the "only sin that deserves a recompense of immortal

agony!"—"the sin of an intellect that triumphed over the sense of brotherhood with man and reverence for God, and sacrificed everything to its own mighty claims!" (p. 485). He has spent his life hunting for the evil in men's hearts, making of men and women the subjects of psychological experiment. Thus he has himself become a fiend with a heart of marble. Now we observe that in Chapter XIV of *The House of Seven Gables* Hawthorne carefully distinguishes the point at which his young hero, Holgrave, resists the temptation to a like sin. He possesses mesmeric power; but when the opportunity comes to exercise it upon Phoebe, he refrains. "To a disposition like Holgrave's, at once speculative and active, there is no temptation so great as the opportunity of acquiring empire over the human spirit. . . . Let us, therefore, concede to the daguerreotypist the rare and high quality of respect for another's individuality" (p. 253).

In *The Scarlet Letter* Hawthorne had already worked out the nature of such a sin in the relation of Chillingworth and Dimmesdale. "May God forgive thee," says the dying minister upon the scaffold, to Chillingworth, "Thou, too, hast greatly sinned" (p. 303). The old physician is pictured as a complete fiend, not because he desired revenge, but because of the nature of that revenge. If he had denounced the minister, or had wished to drive him to confession, his action would have commanded our sympathy. But Chillingworth tells us plainly (in Chapter IV) that such is not his purpose. Having sworn Hester to keep the secret of his identity even from her lover, he smiles mysteriously at her, and the troubled Hester cries, "Hast thou enticed me into a bond that will prove the ruin of my soul?" "Not thy soul," he answers, "No, not thine" (p. 100). The response has the double edge of irony; for in truth, two souls are involved in his revenge, that of his tortured victim and his own. As the story develops, Chillingworth experiences a growing ecstasy in simply prying into the secret recesses of the minister's heart. When Dimmesdale discovers at last who Chillingworth is, his resentment is not for the discovery of his sin so much as for "the shame!—the indelicacy!—the horrible ugliness of this exposure of a sick and guilty heart to the very eye that would gloat over it!" "We are not, Hester, the worst sinners in the world. There is one worse than even the polluted priest! That old man's sin has been blacker than my sin. He has violated in

cold blood, the sanctity of a human heart. Thou and I, Hester, never did so!" (p. 234).

We seem to have reached by small gradations the somewhat fantastic conclusion that Hawthorne's young heroes and his mature villains are compounded of the same materials and that both are varieties of self-portraiture. Such an hypothesis, once adopted, attracts to itself other bits of evidence.

There is, in the first place, Hawthorne's own conviction of sin. This was in part a consciousness of the general sinfulness of mankind, in part a sense of personal guilt. It was genuine and deep and noticeable to others. Henry James, the elder, for instance, tells us in his account of a dinner at the Saturday Club^a that Hawthorne "has the look all the time of a rogue who suddenly finds himself in a company of detectives. . . . The idea I got was, and it was very powerfully impressed on me, that we are all monstrously corrupt, hopelessly bereft of human consciousness." This observation chimes in with Hawthorne's made many years before (*Fancy's Show Box*, 1837, p. 257): "Man must not disclaim his brotherhood even with the guiltiest, since though his hand be clean, his heart has surely been polluted by the flitting phantom of iniquity." In all four of his great romances, the plot involves characters who are hiding a painful secret; and the same idea informs a very large number of his tales, such as *The Minister's Black Veil*, *The Prophetic Pictures*, *The Hollow of the Three Hills*, *The White Old Maid*, *Egotism*, or *The Bosom Serpent*, to mention only a few. Nor can we explain Hawthorne's feeling as merely the survival of the Puritan conception of original sin, for his thinking on matters of religion and ethics, though limited, was independent; with the writing of *The Scarlet Letter* he had already freed himself from the acceptance of Puritan doctrine, and the philosophy of sin worked out in his novels is progressively away from the older theology. In his first romance, *The Scarlet Letter*, salvation is won through the acceptance of consequences; in his second, *The House of the Seven Gables*, the consequences—which affect both the guilty and the innocent—wear themselves to an end with the passage of time; in the last, *The Marble Faun*, the question is suggested whether sin is not a necessary part of the educa-

^a Emerson, E. W., *Early Years of the Saturday Club*, p. 332.

tion of a human being. With such capacity for free thought and living in the midst of the transcendental group, who never grappled at all with the problem of the existence of evil, it seems more than ever odd that Hawthorne should have suffered keenly from a sense of general and personal corruption.

Nor is his own life open to any sinister imaginings on our part, unless we accept the Freudian view of human nature. All that we know of Hawthorne's conduct, letters, and journals indicates an almost blameless character. He was a man of noble purposes and immense self-control. He gives no sign of having been in love with anyone but his wife, and every sign of devotion to her and to their children. All his thoughts show innocence of mind. Even his strictures on the display of nudity in European works of art seem like provincial ignorance rather than evidence of suppressed desire. The only crime of which he could possibly accuse himself was the one which he seems so much to dread that he depicts it again and again, as though fascinated by its horror—that coldness of heart towards his fellow men, that unwillingness to participate in "the united life of mankind," that curiosity to know what lies beneath the surface of human actions, which, in its extreme form, he regarded as the unpardonable sin.

Yet this analytic inspection of his fellow men was the very essence of his art as a writer of psychological romance. His notebooks prove that he kept up a ceaseless activity of observation, motivated by deliberate inquisitiveness and a definite intention to use the material for publication. Whenever he depicts an artist, such is the nature of the artist's occupation. Immense as have been the strides made by modern psychology since Hawthorne's day, inadequate as his explanation of the nature of man's soul often is, his romances are alive today just in proportion to the degree of psychic truth at which he arrived by this method. He often falls short of the truth because his conscience reproached him when he tried to penetrate to the bottom of a soul. Hence his exasperating habit, frequent in his short stories and often evident at the greatest moments of his novels, of assigning two or more different explanations for a particular piece of conduct, and his other obvious failure to know in detail the lives of his characters beyond the limits of the particular story in hand. Wherever the reader feels such uncertainty, the psychology of Hawthorne's fiction becomes

unsatisfactory. Wherever, as in the case of his great characters, Hester, Arthur, Zenobia, Donatello, and of his simpler characters, Hepzibah, Hilda, he does feel certain of the inner workings, we accept his explanations as truth; and the character continues to make an impression on readers and critics even in our own times.

He seems always to have been doubtful of the ethical justification of his artistic method. We find this doubt most frequently expressed in *The Blithedale Romance*, where, as we have seen, Miles Coverdale is really an autobiographical character. He tells us, for instance (p. 398), "It is not, I apprehend, a healthy kind of mental occupation to devote ourselves too exclusively to the study of individual men and women. If the person under examination be oneself the result is pretty certain to be diseased action of the heart, almost before we can snatch a second glance. Or, if we take the freedom to bring a friend under our microscope, we would insulate him from many of his true relations, magnify his peculiarities, inevitably tear him into bits, and of course patch him very clumsily together again. What wonder, then, should we be frightened by the aspect of a monster, which, after all,—although we can point to every feature of his deformity in the real personage,—may be said to be mainly created by ourselves?"

"Thus, as my conscience has often whispered me, I did Hollingsworth a great wrong by prying into his character; and I am perhaps doing him as great a one at this moment by putting faith in the discoveries which I seemed to make. But I could not help it."

Again, in the same story (p. 415), Coverdale meets a forlorn old man and at once subjects him to psychological examination. "In the wantonness of youth, strength and comfortable conditions,—making my prey of peoples' individualities as my custom was,—I tried to identify my mind with the old fellow's and take his view of the world, as if looking through a smoke-blackened glass at the sun."

Once more (p. 463), in conversation with the girl he is supposed to love, "no doubt it was a kind of sacrilege in me to attempt to come within her maiden mystery; but as she appeared to be tossed aside by her other friends, let fall like a flower which they had done with, I could not resist the impulse to take just one peep beneath her folded petals." And I have already quoted two other passages from the same book to the same general effect. In the

crisis of the story (p. 562), when Coverdale comes upon Hollingsworth, Zenobia, and Priscilla just as Hollingsworth has made plain to Zenobia that his only interest in her is the use of her wealth for his philanthropic schemes, Zenobia turns to Coverdale with the taunt, "This long while past you have been following up your groping for human emotions in the dark corners of the heart. Had you been here a little sooner you might have seen them dragged into the daylight."

These last words are almost precisely like the terms in which Hawthorne describes the activity of his villains, Rappaccini, Chillingworth, and Ethan Brand. For him the distinction between good and evil in such an activity seems to be tested by the degree of sympathy felt by the artist-observer and the degree of his willingness to become an actor in the drama when the objects of his observation are passing through a crisis. Hawthorne suffered from an inability to decide whether or not his own heart was cold or warm,⁷ and he also felt that he himself could not thus lay hold on life. His journals contain many a complaint that he cannot feel the reality and the importance of such social experiments as Brook Farm, of such philosophic effort as Emerson's, of any political movements whatsoever, and even of the ordinary daily activities of the human beings to whom he stood closest. "My father," writes Rose Hawthorne, "fostered his interest in human nature by regarding instead of embracing it." Quite late in his life (1858) he reproaches himself for his merely shadowy hold on human affairs. "Taking no root I soon weary of any soil in which I may be temporarily deposited. The same impatience I sometimes feel, or conceive of, as regards this earthly life."⁸

He suffered no less that he had no accuser but himself. The dread of what he might become, or perhaps actually was, he seems to have projected in his fiction in the shape of those monstrous villains who seem to us wholly unnatural, though they have a sort of theatrical effectiveness. In this kind of self-revelation he felt, I think, entirely safe, for he was sure that not half a dozen people in all the world ever had understood or would understand him. We can imagine how he would have detested the inquisitive process to which this article has, at some length, subjected him.

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⁷ Cf. *Blithedale Romance*, p. 495.

⁸ *French and Italian Note-Books*, p. 431.

EMERSON'S INDEBTEDNESS TO COLERIDGE

BY FRANK T. THOMPSON

The Kantian revival has tended to focus our attention once more upon the development of the Transcendental movement in New England. This paper in part is an effort to trace the nature, period, and extent of Emerson's acceptance of Coleridge's interpretation of the Kantian metaphysics. But we shall find that the problem of determining the extent of Coleridge's influence upon Emerson is more complex than accounting for his use of German philosophy. An entry in Emerson's *Journals* for August 20, 1837, eleven days before the delivery of "The American Scholar" address, will serve to make this clear: "Carlyle and Wordsworth now act out of England on us,—Coleridge also." The influence which Emerson here acknowledges was of no temporary nature. Besides, what he gained from these three men is so closely woven together that we are almost tempted to exclaim with Cabot that it is useless to attempt to trace the influences exerted upon Emerson. But an inspection of Emerson's *Journals* reveals that a solution of the problem is neither useless nor unduly complicated.

For our purpose we may think of Coleridge as the philosopher, psychologist, and literary critic, Carlyle as the transmitter of German Romance, and Wordsworth as the sanest and most original poet since Milton. As a philosopher Coleridge influenced both Carlyle and Wordsworth before Emerson became acquainted with either one of them. As a psychologist and literary critic he has largely shaped all subsequent criticism of Wordsworth, including that by Emerson. Coleridge is a pivotal figure in determining the nature of the Romantic influences exerted upon Emerson.

When we come to a determination of the period of Emerson's Romanticism, we shall see that here, too, Coleridge is a pivotal figure. The *Journals* for 1826 give an extensive criticism of the effort of Wordsworth and Coleridge to produce a new type of poetry in the *Lyrical Ballads*. Those were the days when Emerson devoted his attention largely to Plato, Homer, Sophocles, Bacon, Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope. He was frankly a Platonist. He says that the only thing he likes about Wordsworth's poetry is the Platonism of the "Ode." Emerson never overcame this antipathy

for Coleridge's poetry, and but for Coleridge's work as a critic he might never have accepted Wordsworth's nature poetry.

Nothing more is heard of Coleridge in Emerson's journal until the fall of 1829 when Emerson first read *Aids to Reflection* and *The Friend*. What he has to say of Coleridge at this time forms the foundation of any effort to trace the influence of the English philosopher and critic. But before we consider this material, let us glance rapidly at the way in which the influence derived from Carlyle and Wordsworth intertwines with that from Coleridge.

In 1830 Emerson began reading Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister*. The following year Emerson read widely in the poetry of Wordsworth and was quite friendly in his criticism of it. In 1832 came a closer reading of Carlyle. This more than anything else turned Emerson's steps to Europe in 1833, where he met Coleridge, Carlyle, and Wordsworth. The visit to Coleridge was disappointing to Emerson. But during the years 1834-36 he gave unremitting attention to the works of all these Englishmen. In 1834 he returned to *The Friend* and took up the study of the *Biographia Literaria*. As a result of his renewed interest in Coleridge, especially after Coleridge's death in July of 1834, Emerson mastered the distinctions upon which these books depend: the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason, between Talent and Genius, and between the Fancy and the Imagination. During the years 1834-36 Emerson also accepted Wordsworth as the greatest poet since Milton. The friendship with Carlyle was cemented; *Sartor Resartus* was published with an introduction by Emerson. The period closed with the publication of *Nature* and the formation of the Transcendental Club in 1836.

We have reviewed briefly the ten years following Emerson's criticism of Coleridge and Wordsworth in 1826. I hold that this is the period that we need to consider for a vital interpretation of Emerson as a man of letters, but more particularly as a Romanticist. As we have seen, seven of these ten years are concerned with an intimate contact with three of the greatest literary figures of his age. Since Coleridge was the first one of the three to whom Emerson turned with enthusiasm, it is fitting that we begin our study of Emerson's Romanticism by looking more directly than we are accustomed to do at what Coleridge gave to Emerson.

In a letter to his aunt, Emerson wrote in December of 1829, "I am reading Coleridge's *Friend*. You don't speak of it with respect. He has a tone a little lower than greatness—but what a living soul, what a universal knowledge! . . ." ¹ A second letter, written three days later, informs us that we may expect much from the influence of Coleridge:

I say a man so learned and a man so bold, has a right to be heard, and I will take off my hat the while and not make an impertinent noise. At least I became acquainted with one new mind I never saw before,—an acquisition to my knowledge of man not unimportant, when it is remembered that so gregarious are even intellectual men that Aristotle thinks for thousands, and Bacon for his ten thousands, and so, in enumerating the apparently manifold philosophies and forms of thought, we should not be able to count more than seven or eight minds. 'Tis the privilege of his independence and of his labour to be counted for one school. His theological speculations are, at least, *God viewed from one position*; and no wise man would neglect that one element in concentrating the rays of human thought to a true and comprehensive conclusion. Then I love him that he is no utilitarian, nor necessarian, nor scoffer, nor *hoc genus omne*, tucked away in the corner of a sentence of Plato.²

We cannot tell from these quotations exactly what Emerson found in Coleridge of such vast importance. But we can tell that he had become acquainted "with one new mind" that he had never seen before. His reference to Coleridge's theological speculations leads us to think that he had read carefully the *Aids to Reflection*, mention of which is made in the reading lists for 1829. Evidently, too, Emerson sympathized with Coleridge's open hostility toward Rousseau. Furthermore, we can find no entries in the *Journals* prior to the fall of 1833 which indicate that Emerson had at this time paid attention to Coleridge's distinction between the Understanding and the Reason, the distinction which holds the central place in the philosophy of the Transcendentalists.³ Nor can

¹ *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 277.

² *Journals*, Vol. 2, pp. 278-79.

In *The Teachers of Emerson*, John S. Harrison has paid fitting tribute to Coleridge's interpretation of Bacon and Plato for Emerson. But as Emerson Grant Sutcliffe says (*Emerson's Theories of Literary Expression*), Harrison completely ignores the fact that Emerson had previously read and re-read such things from Bacon as the *Essays*, *The Advancement of Learning*, and the *Novum Organum*.

³ Sutcliffe (*op. cit.*) has much to say about the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason in its relation to Kant. But after estab-

we find any discussion of the distinction between the Imagination and the Fancy. Considering the extent to which Emerson made use of these distinctions in the years 1836-43, we might well wonder at their absence in 1829 if we did not know that the philosophy of Plato had already won a permanent place in his heart and mind. Emerson, we must conclude, was not prepared to accept Coleridge's Transcendentalism until he had read such books as *Wilhelm Meister* and Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*.

The most important result of Emerson's study of *The Friend* from our present point of view is, however, the stimulus afforded Emerson for the appreciation of Wordsworth's poetry. Coleridge's criticism of his friend is full of the spirit of the days of the *Lyrical Ballads*. Fresh from a perusal of "The Prelude," in which Wordsworth had closed with a splendid tribute to his friendship with Coleridge, Coleridge quotes two of the best-known passages in the poem, the Skating Scene and the tribute to France.⁴ It was to these passages that Emerson referred when he visited Wordsworth in 1833: "I told him how much the few printed extracts had quickened the desire to possess his unpublished poems."⁵ Coleridge also quoted from many of Wordsworth's shorter poems, and praised "The Ode to Duty" and the "Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood." That Emerson went back to Wordsworth with the praise of Coleridge ringing in his ears is evident from what he wrote in regard to the "Character of the Happy Warrior" in November, 1831, "Almost I can say Coleridge's compliment, *quem quoties lego, non verba mihi videor audire, sed tonitrua*."⁶

lishing the fact that Emerson owed his conception of this distinction to Coleridge, he goes no farther with his study of Kant's influence; nor does he take into consideration the distinction between the Imagination and the Fancy and the part that Coleridge played as a critic, especially as a critic of Wordsworth, in shaping Emerson's theory of criticism. For Sutcliffe the influence of Swedenborg looms large. This Swedenborgian influence is emphasized just where we should expect influence from Coleridge and Wordsworth, and where I believe it does exist to a very large extent.

⁴ *The Friend*, pp. 205-06, 338-39.

⁵ *English Traits*, p. 23.

⁶ *Journals*, Vol. 2, pp. 429-30.

Cf. *The Friend*, p. 169: "But if my readers wish to see the question of the efficacy of principles and popular opinions for evil and for good proved

What Emerson gained from Coleridge and Wordsworth in 1831 takes on a deeper significance when we remember that in February of this same year Ellen died. The *Journals* show that he often went to the "Ode" for assurance as to Ellen's immortality. And if he found consolation in this assurance, it was because he knew that what was true for her was also true for himself. In this strain he writes:

Let me not fear to die
But let me live so well
As to win this mark of death from on high,
That I with God, and thee, dear heart, may dwell.*

At the same time Emerson gives voice to his desire to live forever with Ellen in another poem entitled *Γνώθι Σεαυρόν*, written in the measure of the "Ode" and resonant with its deep undertone of music and mystery. What we should note about this poem is that its inspiration is as much from Coleridge as it is from Wordsworth.

As an introduction to the ninth stanza of the "Ode," the favorite stanza of Emerson, Coleridge writes:

. . . Under the tutorage of scientific analysis, haply first given to him by express revelation,

E coelo descendit, *Γνώθι σεαυρόν*

he separates the relations that are wholly the creatures of his own abstracting and comparing intellect, and at once discovers and recoils from the discovery, that the reality, the objective truth, of the objects he has been adoring, derives its whole and sole evidence from an obscure sensation which he is alike unable to resist or to comprehend, which compels him to contemplate as without and independent of himself what yet he could not contemplate at all, were it not a modification of his own being.⁸

This quotation gives us the core of Coleridge's conception of the distinction between Romanticism and Classicism. He plays on the theme in various ways. At one time he compares Kant and Plato. At another time he seeks to show the distinction between objective

and illustrated with an eloquence worthy of the subject, I can refer them with the hardest anticipation of their thanks to the late work concerning the relations of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, by my honored friend, William Wordsworth, *quem quoties lego, non verba mihi videor audire, sed tonitrua.*"

* *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 394, July 6, 1831.

⁸ *The Friend*, p. 460.

and subjective truth. At all times we must reckon Coleridge, much as he admired Plato, a Romanticist; for as he says himself "the objective truth, of the objects he has been adoring, derives its whole and sole evidence from an obscure sensation . . . a modification of his own being."

Having illustrated his conception of the reality of the subjective life by quoting from the "Ode," Coleridge launches out into a discussion of the distinction between what is true for the individual and what is true for the race. He ends his discussion with this striking phrasing:

It is the idea alone of the common centre, of the universal law, by which all power manifests itself in opposite yet interdependent forces— . . . —which enlightening inquiry, multiplying experiment, and at once inspiring humility and perseverance will lead him to comprehend gradually and progressively the relation of each to the other, of each to all, and of all to each.*

As we have seen, Emerson also saw that what was true for one must be true for all. A Platonic expression had been used to express a Romantic truth. With the realization of this reconciliation of the scholastic controversy over realism and nominalism, Emerson's period of Romanticism may be said to have begun. Thus it follows that if a man knows himself, he knows all men. And from it comes this further truth, the identification of God with the reality of the individual, which Emerson brings out in "Know Thyself."

Give up to thy soul—
Let it have its way—
It is, I tell thee, God himself,
The selfsame One that rules the Whole,
Tho' he speaks thro' thee with a stifled voice,
And looks through thee, shorn of his beams.¹⁰

Realizing how deep an impression Coleridge's treatment of the distinction between objective and subjective truth made upon Emerson, we need not be surprised to find that in the year following the European trip Emerson returned to the same passage in *The Friend* from which he had gained so much inspiration in 1831.

* *The Friend*, p. 462.

¹⁰ *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 396.

We have evidence in the *Journals* to show that Emerson went back constantly to *The Friend* during all of 1834. In November he takes up again the theme of "Know Thyself."

The shepherd or the beggar in his red cloak little knows what a charm he gives to the wide landscape that charms you on the mountain-top and whereof he makes the most agreeable feature, and I no more the part my individuality plays in the All.¹¹

Possibly at the same time he wrote the poem "Each and All,"¹² which makes use of the setting that is quoted from his journal and is written in the same verse form as the earlier poem.

Little thinks, in the field, yon red-cloaked clown
Of thee from the hill-top looking down;
The heifer that lows in the upland farm,
Far-heard, lows not thine ear to charm;
The sexton, tolling his bell at noon,
Deems not that great Napoleon
Stops his horse, and lists with delight,
Whilst his files sweep round yon Alpine height;
Nor knowest thou what argument
Thy life to thy neighbor's creed has lent.
All are needed by each one;
Nothing is fair or good alone.¹³

The closing lines of this quotation remind us forcibly of Coleridge's treatment of the same subject: "It is the idea of the common centre, of the universal law . . . which . . . will lead him to comprehend gradually and progressively the relation of each to the other, of each to all, and of all to each." And the last two lines of "Each and All,"

Beauty through my senses stole;
I yielded myself to the perfect whole

remind us of the following lines from "Know Thyself":

It is, I tell thee, God himself,
The selfsame One that rules the Whole.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 373.

¹² Sutcliffe (*op. cit.*) develops a theory of the "Each and All" for Emerson. He is not certain of its source, but leads the reader to think that it may be found in Swedenborg or in Bacon.

¹³ *Centenary Edition*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

The gap between Platonism and Romanticism has been bridged for Emerson, and from this point the Romantic current grows like a stream until its high tide is reached in *Nature* and the organization of the Transcendental Club. There are two aspects of his Romanticism that make their appearance in 1834: Romantic criticism and the Transcendental philosophy. The development of the classic conception of the one and the many is a part of the first, and the treatment of the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason is the beginning of the second.

The key to Emerson's Romantic criticism is to be found in this simple statement, written in May of 1834: "Mr. Coleridge has written well on this matter of Theory in his *Friend*."¹⁴ If we turn to *The Friend*, we shall find that what Emerson refers to is the foundation stone of Coleridge's criticism of philosophy from Plato to Kant, as well as his criticism of such men as Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth. His own words leave no question as to how far-reaching was his purpose in writing on the theory of method:

Yet that I may fulfill the original scope of *The Friend*, I shall attempt to provide the preparatory steps for such an investigation in the following essays on the principles of method common to all investigations; which I here present, as the basis of my future philosophical and theological writings, and as the necessary introduction to the same.¹⁵

Coleridge begins his study of the "science of method"¹⁶ by introducing Shakespeare's method of distinguishing his characters by means of the language employed.¹⁷ He continues his study of method by considering philosophy:

And this is method, itself a distinct science, the immediate offspring of philosophy, and the link or mordant by which philosophy becomes scientific, and the sciences philosophical.¹⁸

To this he adds, "These truths I have hitherto illustrated from Shakespeare."¹⁹ And the next chapter begins,

¹⁴ *Journals*, Vol. 3, p. 295.

¹⁵ *The Friend*, p. 406.

¹⁶ *The Friend*, p. 410.

¹⁷ I have in preparation an article on the possible influence of Horne Tooke upon Coleridge's work in the science of language.

¹⁸ *The Friend*, p. 422.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

From Shakspeare to Plato, from the philosophic poet to the poetic philosopher, the transition is easy, and the road is crowded with illustrations of our present subject.²⁰

After analyzing the position of Plato, Coleridge turns to Bacon and concludes that the method employed by Plato is "radically one and the same" ²¹ as that employed by Bacon.

If we analyze the structure of *The Friend*, we shall find that Coleridge early establishes the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason. We may see that in this criticism of the method of Shakespeare, Plato, and Bacon Coleridge is making a start in the method of criticism which he develops to its highest point in the *Biographia Literaria* and *Aids to Reflection*. So far as this paper is concerned, it is of interest to note that Coleridge passes from Plato and Bacon to a consideration of the material from which he developed his theory of the relation of the individual to the race. And with this study *The Friend* is brought to a close.

In a letter written several years after the material we have been considering in *The Friend*, Coleridge gives his method of dealing with the philosophy of Kant.²² Then he relates Kant to Plato and Aristotle in a way that continues his study of the method of Shakespeare, Plato, and Bacon.

With regard to philosophy . . . there neither are, have been, or ever will be but two essentially different schools of philosophy, the Platonic, and the Aristotelian. To the latter but with a somewhat nearer approach to the Platonic, Emanuel Kant belonged; to the former Bacon and Leibnitz, and, in his riper and better years, Berkeley.²³

²⁰ *The Friend*, p. 429.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

²² Coleridge's *Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 399-401 (1853 ed.).

²³ *Works*, Vol. 4, p. 400.

Since I prepared this article, I have read Claud Howard's *Coleridge's Idealism* (Badger, 1925). Howard has very carefully shown the relation of both Kant and Coleridge to the philosophy of Descartes, Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, and the Cambridge Platonists. But my study has led me to the conclusion that since Kant differs from Coleridge in the extent to which he went back to Plato directly, we need to make a closer investigation of Coleridge's own study of Plato at first hand. We can see this necessity when we consider that Coleridge studied Plato and Kant side by side, as he states in *The Friend* (p. 30): "Doubtless too, I have in some measure injured my style, in respect to its facility and popularity,

And Coleridge further adds, "He, for whom Ideas are constitutive will in effect be a Platonist; and in those for whom they are regulative only, Platonism is but a hollow affectation. Dryden *could* not have been a Platonist: Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, Michel Angelo and Rafael could not have been other than Platonists."²⁴

We might consider in great detail what Coleridge gained from Kant and to what extent the reconciliation of the Platonic and Transcendental idealism affected such works as *The Friend*, the *Lecture upon Shakespeare*, the *Biographia Literaria*, and *Aids to Reflection*. But we need only to recognize the fact that this reconciliation was the one accepted by Emerson. So far as Emerson is concerned we must trace his use of the kindred distinctions between the Understanding and the Reason, between Talent and Genius, and between the Fancy and the Imagination. These three distinctions are much the same as the distinction between the each and the all, and from them spring the Transcendental reliance upon the intuition. The fact that Emerson relied upon Coleridge for his interpretation of these distinctions comes out clearly when we consider that his conception of the function of the intuition was that held by Coleridge rather than that taught by Kant.

Kant relates both the intuition and the imagination to the Understanding, but not so did Coleridge. Coleridge saw clearly that there was a distinction between the objective reality of the Platonic ideas and the subjective reality of the ideas of the Reason, those majestic ideas of God, Freedom, and Immortality. This is brought out in the distinction between the each and the all. The all is referred to the objective truth and derives its reality from the subjective truth of each. In much the same way Coleridge deals with the definition of an idea: "An idea conceived as subsisting in an object becomes a law: and a law contemplated subjectively in a mind is an idea."²⁵ Similarly, the Understanding, Talent, and the Fancy are attributes of the senses and deal with

from having almost confined my reading, of late years, to the works of the ancients and those of the elder writers in the modern languages." See also note 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 401.

²⁵ *Aids to Reflection*, p. 219.

the objective world. The Reason, Genius, and the Imagination are creative and deal with the subjective world.

The extent to which Coleridge made use of these three leading distinctions colors all his work. The distinction between the Understanding and the Reason is fundamental to a proper understanding of *The Friend*;²⁶ and *Aids to Reflection*.²⁷ The distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination is the foundation stone of the *Biographia Literaria*.²⁸ And the distinction between Talent and Genius, a complete study of which appears in *The Friend*,²⁹ is implied in the distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination, for as Coleridge says, "Imagination is implied in genius."³⁰

These three distinctions lead to another point of view from which Emerson considered Coleridge. The distinction between the Understanding and the Reason may be looked upon as Coleridge's contribution to philosophy and metaphysics. The distinction between

²⁶ P. 142.

²⁷ P. 95.

²⁸ P. 152 (Edition of 1920).

²⁹ Pp. 384-88.

³⁰ P. 386.

In *Coleridge's Idealism*, Howard touches upon the relation of the distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination to the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason. On the distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination Howard says (p. 21): "Fancy was considered a subjective, passive, unemotional reproduction of arbitrarily related ideas or images, while imagination was made a synthesizing and creative faculty whose associations were objective or universal." But we have already seen that with Coleridge "Imagination is implied in genius." Now the distinction between Talent and Genius is much the same as that between the Understanding and the Reason so far as Coleridge is concerned. Since both Genius and Reason are subjective with Coleridge, it follows that the Imagination is also subjective and not objective as stated by Howard. We can see this distinction more clearly if we refer to a passage in *Table Talk* written in June of 1834 just a few days before Coleridge's death: "You may conceive the difference in kind between the Fancy and the Imagination in this way,—that if the check of the senses and the reason were withdrawn, the first would become delirium, and the last mania." Surely, we must conclude that Coleridge linked together the Fancy and the senses on the one hand and the Imagination and the Reason on the other.

Talent and Genius is fundamental to an understanding of Coleridge as a psychologist. The distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination is the basis of his work as a literary critic.

Emerson's treatment of these three distinctions is clear, both in the *Journals* and in his lectures and essays covering the years 1836-44. The first to receive his consideration was the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason. The study began in 1834 and culminated in 1836 with the publication of *Nature*. The distinction between Talent and Genius was impressed upon Emerson's mind by the discussion of that subject at the second meeting of the Club. In a large measure "The American Scholar" grows out of this distinction. The first clear indication of Emerson's interest in the distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination is found in 1835. For the final word on this distinction by Emerson we must turn to "Intellect." This essay grew out of an address on Genius, and is a complete illustration of the way in which Emerson followed Coleridge in linking together Genius and the Imagination.

Emerson begins his study of Transcendental philosophy with a definite recognition of its value: "Various terms are employed to indicate the counteraction of the Reason and the Understanding, with more or less precision, according to the cultivation of the speaker. A clear perception of it is the key to all theology, and a theory of human life."³¹ We need not emphasize this statement of the importance of the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason were it not for the fact that both in *The Friend* and in *Aids to Reflection* Coleridge had previously taken the same position.³²

For a period of at least ten years Emerson seldom lost an opportunity to enforce his conception of the power of intuition by means of this distinction. What he understood by the distinction in all these years comes out in his first use of it:

³¹ *Journals*, Vol. 3, p. 237.

³² *The Friend*, p. 142.

The reader will have observed that already has the term reason been frequently contradistinguished from the understanding and the judgment. If I could succeed in fully explaining the sense in which the word reason is employed by me . . . I should feel little or no apprehension concerning the intelligibility of these essays from first to last.

Reason, seeing in objects their remote effects, affirms the effect as the permanent character. The Understanding, listening to Reason, on the one side, which says *It is*, and to the senses on the other side, which say *It is not*, takes middle ground and declares *It will be*. Heaven is the projection of the Ideas of Reason on the plane of the Understanding.³³

But we shall find a clearer use of the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason if we turn to an entry in the Journals for April of 1835:

Why must always the philosopher mince his words and fatigue us with explanation? He speaks from the Reason, and being, of course, contradicted word for word by the Understanding, he stops like a cogwheel at every notch to explain. Let him say, *I idealize*, and let that be once for all; or, *I sensualize*, and then the Rationalist may stop his ears.³⁴

Emerson shows that he fully understands that the Reason deals with the realm of ideas and that the Understanding deals with the external world through the senses. With this interpretation of the distinction we have the key to at least four of the seven divisions of *Nature*.

In one of these seven divisions of *Nature*, "Discipline," the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason is the basis of his argument. Emerson begins this essay by giving the material that feeds the Understanding and the Reason: "Space, time, society, labor, climate, food, locomotion, the animals, and the mechanical forces."³⁵ "They educate," says Emerson, "both the Understanding and the Reason."³⁶ Then, as in the *Journals*, he continues by giving the distinction between these two opposite powers of the mind:

Every property of matter is a school for the understanding,—its solidity or resistance, its inertia, its extension, its figure, its divisibility. The understanding adds, divides, combines, measures, and finds nutriment and room for its activity in this worthy scene.³⁷

In the realm of the senses, says Emerson, the Understanding has full play. But to the "world of thought" the Understanding has

³³ *Journals*, Vol. 3, p. 236.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

³⁵ *Centenary Edition*, Vol. 1, p. 36.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

no relation; for, he says, "Reason transfers all these lessons into its own world of thought, by perceiving the analogy that marries Matter and Mind."³⁸

Having established the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason, Emerson proceeds to show first the function of the Understanding in the discipline of the mind, and second the function of Reason in the moral realm. "Nature is a discipline," he says, "of the understanding in intellectual truths." To illustrate his point he continues,

Our dealing with sensible objects is a constant exercise in the necessary lessons of difference, of likeness, of order, of being and seeming, of progressive arrangement; of ascent from particular to general; of combination to one end of manifold forces. . . . What tedious training, day after day, year after year, never ending, to form the common sense; what continual reproduction of annoyance, inconveniences, dilemmas; what rejoicing over us of little men; what disputing of prices, what reckonings of interest,—and all to form the Hand of the mind;—to instruct us that "good thoughts are no better than good dreams, unless they be executed!"³⁹

And having determined the forces that "form the Hand of the mind," Emerson illustrates how the Reason must use its Hand: "Sensible objects conform to the premonitions of Reason and reflect the conscience. All things are moral; and in their boundless changes have an unceasing reference to spiritual nature." Then, in unmistakable terms, he describes the world in which only the Reason has full authority:

Therefore is nature glorious with form, color, and motion; that every globe in the remotest heaven, every chemical change from the rudest crystal up to the laws of life, every change of vegetation from the first principle of growth in the eye of a leaf, to the tropical forest and ante-diluvian coal-mine, every animal function from the sponge up to Hercules, shall hint or thunder to man the laws of right and wrong, and echo the Ten Commandments. Therefore is Nature ever the ally of Religion: lends all her pomp and riches to the religious sentiment. Prophet and priest, David, Isaiah, Jesus, have drawn deeply from this source. This ethical character so penetrates the bone and marrow of nature, as to seem the end for which it was made.⁴⁰

If Emerson had nothing more to say of the necessity of catching

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁰ *Centenary Edition*, Vol. 1, pp. 40-41.

his interpretation of the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason, either in *Nature* or in any of his other work during the years 1836-43, we must still conclude that this distinction is the key to his Transcendental philosophy and theology. But in "Idealism," which is closely related to the necessity of discipline, the same distinction is employed to answer his single inquiry: "Whether this end be not the Final Cause of the Universe; and whether nature outwardly exists."⁴¹

To the senses and the unrenewed understanding, belongs a sort of instinctive belief in the absolute existence of nature. In their view man and nature are indissolubly joined. Things are ultimate, and they never look beyond their sphere. The presence of Reason mars this faith. The first effort of thought tends to relax this despotism of the senses which binds us to nature as if we were a part of it, and shows us nature aloof, and, as it were, afloat. Until this higher agency intervened, the animal eye sees, with wonderful accuracy, sharp outlines and colored surfaces. When the eye of Reason opens, to outline and surface are at once added grace and expression. These proceed from imagination and affection, and abate somewhat of the angular distinctness of objects. If the Reason be stimulated to more earnest vision, outlines and surfaces become transparent, and are no longer seen; causes and spirits are seen through them. The best moments of life are these delicious awakenings of the higher powers, and the reverential withdrawing of nature before its God.⁴²

Nowhere does Emerson use the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason with more telling force. Nowhere does he come nearer to a reconciliation of his Platonic and Transcendental idealism. With Plato he still asserts that in the realm of ideas only may be found the true reality: "The best moments of life are these delicious awakenings of the higher powers, and the reverential withdrawing of nature before its God." But we surely must admit that at the dawn of the Transcendental movement in New England he reasserts the beliefs of his youth in the terms of Kant and of Coleridge rather than in those of his first great master. Furthermore, the realm of ideas of Plato is found to be not in the objective world but in the mind itself, where only is the true reality.

A few days after the publication of *Nature* the Transcendental

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴² *Centenary Edition*, Vol. 1, pp. 49-50.

Club was organized, and Emerson was called upon to preside at the next meeting. In preparation for this meeting he wrote a lengthy account of the development of Romanticism, and in the spirit of *Nature* he places the greatest emphasis upon what the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason had done for Germany:

This came deepest and loudest out of Germany, where it is not the word of few, but of all the wise. The professors of Germany, a secluded race, free to think, but not invited to action, poor and crowded, went back into the recesses of consciousness with Kant, and whilst his philosophy was popular, and by its striking nomenclature had imprinted itself on the memory, as that of phrenology does now, they analysed in its light the history of past and present times which their encyclopaediacal study had explored. All geography, all statistics, all philology was read with Reason and Understanding in view, and hence the reflective and penetrating sight of their research. Niebuhr, Humboldt, Müller, Heeren, Herder, Schiller, Fichte, Schlegel.⁴³

From the report Emerson makes of the second meeting we can not determine the extent to which he introduced the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason, unless he actually delivered the speech from which I have quoted. He does, however, say that Genius was brought into the discussion: "Alcott maintained that every man is a genius, that he looks peculiar, individual, only from the point of view of others. Genius has two faces, one towards the Infinite God, one towards man,—but I cannot report him."⁴⁴

The fact that these Transcendentalists all seemed to have definite ideas in regard to these fundamental distinctions of Kant and Coleridge indicates that Emerson had been drinking deeply in his three years of comparative solitude from a common heritage. The prospect of indicating the influence of the Club upon Emerson appears, for in "The American Scholar" Emerson must have felt that he was speaking for all what he felt to be true for himself. Since the distinction between Talent and Genius was stressed in this address, let us see to what extent Emerson had considered Coleridge's conception of this distinction and the kindred one between the Fancy and the Imagination previous to the formation of the Club.

⁴³ *Journals*, Vol. 4, pp. 92-94.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

In the same year, 1835, in which Emerson states that he fully understands what the philosopher means by the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason, he gives evidence of understanding also the distinction between Talent and Genius and between the Fancy and the Imagination. On the thirteenth of August he asks,

Who can read an analysis of the faculties by any acute psychologist like Coleridge, without becoming aware that this is proper study for him and that he must live ages to learn anything of so secular a science? ⁴⁵

The following day Emerson indicates that he was thoroughly familiar with the distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination given in the *Biographia Literaria*, for he adds,

We would call up him who left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold,

but the great contemporary just now laid in the dust no man remembers; no man asks for him who broke off in the first sentences the *Analysis of the Imagination*, on the warning of a friend that the public would not read the chapter. No man asks, Where is the Chapter? ⁴⁶

A few days before, commenting upon Coleridge's treatment of the distinction between the Imagination and the Fancy, Emerson gave his conception of the distinction:

The distinction of Fancy and Imagination seems to me a distinction in kind. The Fancy aggregates; the Imagination animates. The Fancy takes the world as it stands and selects pleasing groups by apparent relations. The Imagination is Vision, regards the world as symbolical, and pierces the emblem for the real sense. Sees all external objects as types. ⁴⁷

If we consider what Emerson says here of the distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination in relation to what he says of Wordsworth just three days later, we have the most complete example of Coleridge's influence that I have been able to locate. He begins, "Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty' singeth,—

There are who ask not if thine eye
Be on them."

and concludes, "Wordsworth writes the verses of a great, original

⁴⁵ *Journals*, Vol. 3, p. 540.

⁴⁶ *Journals*, Vol. 3, p. 540.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 525-26.

bard."⁴⁸ A comparison of Coleridge's final definition of the Imagination, given in the *Biographia Literaria*, and what he has to say of the imaginative power of Wordsworth with what we have quoted from Emerson's *Journals* will illustrate fully what I mean.

Coleridge first differentiates between the primary Imagination and the secondary Imagination much as Kant differentiates between the productive and the non-productive Imagination. "The primary Imagination," says Coleridge, "I hold to be the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM. The secondary I consider as an echo of the former. . . . It dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate; or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still at all events it struggles to idealize and to unify. It is essentially vital, even as all objects (as objects) are essentially fixed and dead."⁴⁹ Compared with this creative power of the Imagination, the definition of the Fancy given by Coleridge seems entirely mechanical.⁵⁰ We see this more clearly in Coleridge's criticism of Wordsworth:

Last (Sixth), and pre-eminently I challenge for this poet the gift of IMAGINATION in the highest and strictest sense of the word. In the play of *Fancy*, Wordsworth, to my feelings, is not always graceful, and sometimes *recondite*. . . . But in imaginative power, he stands nearest of all modern writers to Shakespeare and Milton; and yet in a kind perfectly unborrowed and his own words, which are at once an instance and an illustration, he does indeed to all thoughts and to all objects—

add the gleam,
The light that never was, on sea or land,
The consecration, and the Poet's dream.⁵¹

From the day Emerson first encountered Coleridge's glowing tribute to Wordsworth as the most imaginative poet since Milton and "yet in a kind perfectly unborrowed" to the time of the pub-

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 533-35.

⁴⁹ *Biographia Literaria*, pp. 177-78.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

"Fancy, on the contrary, has no other counters to play with, but fixities and definitives. The fancy is indeed no other than a mode of Memory emancipated from the order of time and space; while it is blended with, and modified by that empirical phenomenon of the will, which we express by the word Choice. But equally with the ordinary memory the Fancy must receive all its materials ready made from the law of association."

⁵¹ *Biographia Literaria*, pp. 151-52.

lication of *Parnassus* in 1876, he could not repeat too often his favorite sayings about Wordsworth. He held Wordsworth to be the sanest poet of the age and the most original poet since Milton. A quotation from the *Journals* in 1868 will bring out clearly how far-reaching and how permanent was Emerson's acceptance of Coleridge's position in regard to Wordsworth:

I read with delight a casual notice of Wordsworth in the *London Reader*, in which, with perfect aplomb, his highest merits were affirmed, and his unquestionable superiority to all English poets since Milton, and thought how long I travelled and talked in England, and found no person, or none but one, and that one Clough, sympathetic with him, and admiring him aright, in face of Tennyson's culminating talent, and genius in melodious verse."²²

Great as was the indirect influence which Emerson received from Coleridge's treatment of the Imagination in its relation to Wordsworth, the direct influence was as great or even greater. We catch the spirit of Coleridge's conception of the creative writer in those glowing lines in "The American Scholar" where Emerson writes:

Genius looks forward: the eyes of man are set in his forehead, not in his hindhead: man hopes: genius creates. Whatever talents may be, if the man create not, the pure efflux of the Deity is not his;—cinders and smoke there may be, but not yet flame."²³

And in the essay "Intellect" we find a full development of the distinction that Coleridge was so careful to make between the primary and the secondary Imagination. In this essay Emerson writes,

Every man's progress is through a succession of teachers each of whom seems at the time to have a superlative influence, but it at last gives place to a new."²⁴

To this we may add that Emerson here reveals the "superlative influence" of Coleridge before it had given "place to a new."

From first to last "Intellect" is permeated with such ideas as "constructive intellect," "receptive intellect," "instinctive action," "spontaneous action," and "constructive powers." Almost the

²² *Journals*, Vol. 10, p. 68.

²³ *Centenary Edition*, Vol. 1, p. 90.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 343.

first sentence gives a distinction between the primary and the secondary Imagination:

Intellect lies behind genius, which is intellect constructive. Intellect is the simple power anterior to all action or construction.⁵⁵

But in what follows we may see even more unmistakably the influence of Coleridge.

In the intellect constructive, which we popularly designate by the word Genius, we observe the same balance of two elements as in intellect receptive. The constructive intellect produces thoughts, sentences, poems, plans, designs, systems. It is the generation of the mind, the marriage of thought with nature.⁵⁶

It must be evident that in distinguishing between intellect constructive and intellect reflective Emerson differs little from Coleridge's distinction between the primary and secondary Imagination.

I have endeavored to trace carefully the development of Emerson's conception of the three major distinctions made by Coleridge: between the Understanding and the Reason; between Talent and Genius; between the Fancy and the Imagination. The first distinction is of interest because it introduces the question of the reconciliation of Platonism and Transcendentalism. Since Emerson never lost his love for Plato, we might well ask if he ever accepted the Transcendentalism of Kant? To give a complete answer to the question, we should consider Carlyle's influence more carefully than we have been able to do in this paper; for Transcendentalism is implied in all of Carlyle's early work. However, Carlyle had little love for Plato and so could not have affected the acceptance by Emerson of a philosophy seemingly diametrically opposed to Platonism. Carlyle's contribution to Emerson was of another nature: he was an interpreter of the lives of the men responsible for the Romantic movement in Germany.

Our study of Emerson's Transcendentalism has led us to the acceptance of Coleridge as the reconciler of Platonism and Transcendentalism. We have seen, however, that Coleridge did not follow Kant closely except to distinguish between the Under-

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁵⁶ *Centenary Edition*, pp. 334-35.

standing and the Reason. Besides, there is a historical perspective to Coleridge's treatment of philosophy that is missing in Kant. It is possible, for instance, that Kant knew nothing directly about Platonism. In Emerson's Transcendental philosophy, then, how much is due respectively to Kant and how much to Coleridge? I realize that I have not fully answered the question. And when we consider the distinction between the Fancy and the Imagination, together with the kindred distinction between Talent and Genius, the question becomes even more complicated.

Kant unquestionably furnished stimulus to Coleridge's analysis of the poetical faculties. But, as Shawcross points out, it is difficult to tell what is original with Coleridge and what is not. With Kant Imagination is a function of the Understanding and at the same time is the greatest mark of the Genius. The poet, the highest reach of Genius, cannot interpret his own work, but must rely upon someone with critical power sufficient to achieve the same heights. Though Coleridge is not careful to distinguish between the function of the Imagination in its relation to the distinction between the Understanding and the Reason, still he does accept Kant's theory of criticism in regard to the function of the poet. We see this clearly in respect to Wordsworth.

Wordsworth attempted to set forth a theory of poetry in the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*. At that time Coleridge seemingly gave his approval. When Wordsworth, however, wrote the preface to the edition of his poems in 1814, Coleridge was led to write the *Biographia Literaria* in self-defense. Coleridge did not condemn Wordsworth's poetry. What he objected to was Wordsworth's attempt to be his own interpreter. Furthermore, Coleridge made Wordsworth's effort to distinguish between the Fancy and the Imagination the center of his reply. Then, in the spirit of Kant, he proceeds to give the correct distinction between these faculties of the mind and to place Wordsworth in his true relation to them. It is this further aspect of Kant's influence, it seems to me, that we have failed to realize in regard to Emerson.

Emerson began with open hostility toward Wordsworth's poetry. He cared less for his theory. In 1826, when he gave his fullest criticism during his early years, he was criticizing Wordsworth's preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*. At that time, evidently, he had not

seen the *Biographia Literaria*. With the reading of *The Friend* three years later, though, Emerson came into contact with a new type of criticism. He accepted readily what Coleridge had to say of Bacon, Shakespeare, and Plato. And this acceptance of ancient writers prepared the way for the acceptance of Wordsworth. Until we can present a complete account of Emerson's relation to Wordsworth, we cannot appreciate fully what Coleridge accomplished as a critic for his friend. I have presented enough material, however, to enable us to realize that the revolution that took place in Emerson's theory and practice of poetry must have been shaped largely by Coleridge's critical work. In the case of Milton and Shakespeare, what Coleridge accomplished as a critic is of value because Emerson lectured on both men in the spirit of Coleridge's criticism. But this acceptance by Emerson of Coleridge's Romantic criticism of the two greatest figures of the Renaissance is of importance to us because Emerson came to consider Wordsworth more original than either Shakespeare or Milton, and reckoned him to be the sanest and most imaginative poet of his age.

Until we have considered in more detail, then, what Emerson owed to Carlyle and to Wordsworth, we cannot pass final judgment upon what he gained from Coleridge. We can see, however, that Coleridge meant more to Emerson than a mere transmitter of Kantian metaphysics. Coleridge felt that he had a system of philosophy of his own to present, and we are almost led to think that Emerson discovered it. Besides, we have learned to appreciate the fact that only Coleridge was prepared to present to Emerson the Wordsworth that every one now accepts, the greatest figure of the Romantic movement. I like to think of Coleridge coming to Emerson as he came to Wordsworth and opening the springs of his intellectual being.

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THE MASTER OF WHITMAN

BY JOHN B. MOORE

I

The literary relationship of Whitman to Emerson, though somewhat complicated, is not by any means so difficult of analysis as to warrant any doubt that (1) Whitman was more indebted to Emerson than to any other for fundamental ideas in even his earliest *Leaves of Grass*; that (2) Whitman on certain occasions endeavored to minimize his debt to Emerson; that (3) Whitman ultimately arrived at an open, almost undeviating, allegiance both to Emerson as a person and to Emersonian ideas in general. It is well known that Whitman sent to Emerson one of the copies of the first (1855) edition of *Leaves of Grass*. Emerson's letter to Whitman is, perhaps, too often quoted; yet a reminder in the form of two or three of the significant sentences of that letter is prudent.

I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed. I am very happy in reading it, as great power makes us happy. . . .

I greet you at the beginning of a great career, which yet must have had a long foreground somewhere, for such a start. I rubbed my eyes a little, to see if this sunbeam were no illusion; but the solid sense of the book is a sober certainty. It has the best merits, namely, of fortifying and encouraging.¹

It is well never to overlook these few but astonishing words of commendation from the unrivaled chief of American literature to one not only new to literature but distinctly novel to literature, unprecedented. The praise could, under the circumstances, have hardly been more unqualified. The effect upon Whitman must have been enormous, for no one else contributed any such estimate of the work; even Emerson himself never spoke so again of Whitman's poetry. We do not need to guess the effect upon Whitman, for he published in the 1856 edition of *Leaves of Grass* a sort of open letter in reply to that of Emerson. He tells Emerson how he (Emerson) has been leading all rebels (like

¹ Emerson's *Uncollected Writings*, New York, 1912.

Whitman) to see clearly the ill state of this country politically and otherwise—and to formulate a remedy.

Those shores you found. I say you have led The States there—have led Me there. I say that none has ever done or ever can do, a greater deed for The States, than your deed . . . ; it is yours to have been the original true Captain who put to sea, intuitive, positive, rendering the first report, . . .

Receive, dear Master, these statements and assurances through me, for all the young men, and for an earnest that we know none before you, but the best following you; and that we demand to take your name into our keeping, and that we understand what you have indicated, and find the same indicated in ourselves, and that we will stick to it and enlarge upon it through These States.*

The two letters are the external evidence of the influence of Emerson upon the author of *Leaves of Grass*; but surely the gift of the copy of the 1855 edition and the subsequent letter of pledged devotion (more fervent, no doubt, as a result of Emerson's letter) on Whitman's part, indicate no sudden or superficial acquaintance with the work of Emerson and no newly-assumed esteem for it. The only natural procedure is to examine Whitman's verse and prose of about the period of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* for traces of kinship with, or direct influence of, Emerson's writings, the most celebrated of which had been published by that time.³ A great many traces of Emersonian doctrine might be listed from Whitman's writings for the period from 1848 to 1855, but only a few representative instances need be mentioned. What may be called traces of Emersonian doctrine are, moreover, often perfectly spontaneous with Whitman; yet it is impossible to believe that the man who conceived and expressed such thoroughly mediocre things as Whitman did from the age of twenty to thirty should have performed so remarkably in the following five years without some powerful external stimulus.⁴ In an early notebook of Whit-

* G. R. Carpenter's *Walt Whitman*, pp. 74-75.

³ Emerson's *Nature* was published in 1836; *Essays I* in 1841; *Essays II* in 1844; *Representative Men* in 1850. Besides these volumes, several of his more celebrated addresses had been published before 1850—"The Divinity School Address," "The American Scholar," etc.

⁴ Examples of Whitman's altogether undistinguished early verse are to be found in *Uncollected Poetry and Prose* (Holloway), vol. I, pp. 1-20; even poorer prose, *ibid.*, II, 103-221.

man—containing an only fairly successful attempt in his later manner—stands the following picture (among many others, for the poem is entitled “Pictures”):

And there, tall and slender, stands Ralph Waldo Emerson, of New England, at the lecturer’s desk, lecturing. . . .⁵

This was almost certainly written in the very beginning of the eighteen-fifties, and it suggests an acquaintance with Emerson the lecturer as well as with Emerson the writer.⁶

Instances in Whitman’s comparatively early prose of an Emersonian trend are to be found in a paragraph championing women’s rights (in 1846),⁷ in a reprint of certain “Remarks of Walt Whitman” on *Art and Artists* (1851),⁸ in a brief newspaper notice, *Who Was Swedenborg?*⁹ The mere subjects of these three articles suggest that Whitman’s mind was pursuing matters which had not improbably been brought to his attention more forcibly by reading Emerson. But the most vivid Emersonian “likenesses” are perhaps those in certain of Whitman’s notebooks covering the six or seven years preceding the publication of *Leaves of Grass*. A few quotations will render clear to persons at all familiar with Emerson the debt Whitman owed for many of his most fervent thoughts in those early days.

True noble expanded American character is raised on a far more lasting and universal basis than that of any of the characters of the “gentlemen” of aristocratic life. . . . It is to be illimitably proud, independent, self-possessed, generous and gentle. It is to accept nothing except what is equally free and eligible to any body else. It is to be poor rather than rich—but to prefer death sooner than any mean dependence.—Prudence is part of it, because prudence is the right arm of independence.¹⁰

⁵ “Whitman’s Embryonic Verse,” by Emory Holloway, *Southwest Review*, July 1925, p. 38.

⁶ Cf. *Writings of Whitman* (complete), New York, 1902, vol. VII, p. 55. Whitman recalls: “There were also the smaller and handsome halls of the historical and Athenaeum societies upon Broadway. I very well remember W. C. Bryant lecturing on Homoeopathy, in one of them, and attending two or three addresses by Emerson in the other.”

⁷ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, vol. I, p. 137.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 241.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 16.

¹⁰ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, vol. II, p. 63. Cf. Emerson’s “Prudence,” in *Essays*, 1841.

Wickedness is most likely the absence of freedom and health in the soul.¹¹

No two have exactly the same language, and the great translator and joiner of the whole is the poet. He has the divine grammar of all tongues, and says indifferently and alike, How are you friend? to the President in the midst of his cabinet, and Good day my brother, to Sambo, among the hoes of the sugar field, and both understand him and know that his speech is right.¹²

The universal and fluid soul impounds within itself not only all good characters and heros, but the distorted characters, murderers, thieves.¹³

I will not be a great philosopher, and found any school, and build it with iron pillars, and gather the young men around me, and make them my disciples, that new superior churches and politics shall come. . . . Not I—not God—can travel this road for you.¹⁴

We hear of miracles.—But what is there that is not a miracle? What may you conceive of or name to me in the future that shall be beyond the least thing around us?—I am looking in your eyes,—tell me then, if you can, what is there more in the immortality of the soul more than this spiritual and beautiful miracle of sight?¹⁵

Even the indignant and disillusioned accent of such of Emerson's addresses as "Man the Reformer"¹⁶ and "New England Reformers"¹⁷ is discovered in this Whitman, suddenly turning in the late forties and early fifties from the pusillanimities of *Franklin Evans, or The Inebriate*¹⁸ toward the authentic notes of *Leaves of Grass*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65. Cf. Emerson's *Divinity School Address*: "Evil is merely privative not absolute."

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 65. Cf. Emerson's "The Poet," in *Essays, Second Series*, 1844. He says among other similar things—"The poets are thus liberating gods. . . . They are free and they make free."

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66. Cf. Emerson's "The Oversoul," in *Essays*, 1841: "And this because the heart in thee is the heart of all; . . . not an intersection is there anywhere in nature, but one blood rolls uninterruptedly, an endless circulation, through all men."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67. Cf. many passages in Emerson's "Self-Reliance," "Uses of Great Men," etc.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 80. Cf. Emerson's "Address . . . in Divinity College," 1838.—"But the word Miracle, as pronounced by Christian churches, gives a false impression; it is Monster. It is not one with the blowing clover and the falling rain."

¹⁶ 1841.

¹⁷ 1844.

¹⁸ Published in 1842, but reissued in Whitman's "Daily Eagle" as late as 1846, obviously with his own sanction.

Our country seems to be threatened with a sort of ossification of the spirit. Amid all the advanced grandeurs of these times beyond any other of which we know—amid the never enough praised spread of common education and common newspapers and books—amid the universal accessibility of riches and personal comforts—the wonderful inventions—the cheap swift travel bringing far nations together—amid all the extreme reforms and benevolent societies—the current that bears us is one broadly and deeply materialistic and infidel.¹⁹

This group of seven quotations from Whitman represents the sort of ideas with which he was occupied from 1847 on to the period of the composition of the earliest *Leaves of Grass*. In 1847, Whitman was already twenty-eight. Something, clearly, was giving him a mighty intellectual impulse. He was not simply maturing at that age, but strong new vision was somehow bestowed upon him. It is hardly open to question that Emerson was the source—the primary external source, that is ²⁰—of the impulse and the vision. These representative excerpts are almost completely Emersonian except in style. And shortly was to come the presentation of *Leaves of Grass* to Emerson and the ensuing letter hailing Emerson as “dear Master.”

In the years between the second edition of *Leaves of Grass*, 1856, and that time—following his exertions in the civil war—when Whitman virtually retired, much broken in body, about 1873; between those years, now and then, he seemed much inclined to minimize the importance of Emerson to both the world and Walt Whitman, himself. Emerson appears never again, so far as we can tell, to have felt such confident enthusiasm over Whitman’s verse as he had on the occasion of his first letter. The two met, nevertheless, and had friendly talks, at intervals. Whitman felt, no doubt, that Emerson had cooled towards *Leaves of Grass* rather precipitately. Now Emerson had a right to change his mind (although we cannot be certain how much he may have done so),

¹⁹ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, vol. II, p. 90. From Notebook, circa 1849.

²⁰ It is, of course, necessary to bear in mind that Whitman always seems to have had more or less inner illumination from mystic experiences. Like both Emerson and Thoreau, Whitman realized his ultimate bliss of certitude mystically. For this reason, we should naturally look for similarities in the writing of these men, but not for such persistent and close similarities, probably, as those cited above.

but it is easy to imagine how irascible any sign of cooling might have made a man like Whitman who was being neglected or slandered by most of the literary world. Whitman did not get irascible—only a little critical and exacting. One of the so-called “Notes Left Over” (now published at the conclusion of the *Collect*) is an excellent example of Whitman’s second attitude toward Emerson, half praise, half condemnation. He entitles the little essay “Emerson’s Books, (The Shadows of Them).” Whitman warns us,

. . . I will begin by scarifying him—thus proving that I am not insensible to his deepest lessons. . . .

Emerson, in my opinion, is not most eminent as poet or artist or teacher, though valuable in all those. He is best as critic, or diagnoser. . . . Cold and bloodless intellectuality dominates him. (I know the fires, emotions, love, egotisms, glow deep, perennial, as in all New Englanders—but the façade hides them well—they give no sign.) He does not see or take one side, one presentation only or mainly, (as all the poets, or most of the fine writers anyhow)—he sees all sides. His final influence is to make his students cease to worship anything—almost cease to believe in anything, outside of themselves. . . .²¹

The reminiscence that years ago I began like most youngsters to have a touch (though it came late, and was only on the surface) of Emerson-on-the-brain—that I read his writings reverently, and addressed him in print as “Master,” and for a month or so thought of him as such—I retain not only with composure, but positive satisfaction. I have noticed that most young people of eager minds pass through this stage of exercise.

The best part of Emersonianism is, it breeds the giant that destroys itself. Who wants to be any man’s mere follower? lurks behind every page. No teacher ever taught, that has so provided for his pupil’s setting up independently—no truer evolutionist.

In these middle years of his career as a poet Whitman has distinctly reversed his attitude on the subject of Emerson. For a change of opinion he should not be blamed or charged absurdly with treachery to Emerson. It seems to have been impossible for students and investigators of Whitman to deal critically with him: they must needs adore or curse him. But what is required is just

²¹ At this point Whitman launches attacks upon Emerson’s “singularly dandified theory of manners” and upon his taste in poetry.—“Of power he seems to have a gentleman’s admiration—but in his inmost heart the grandest attribute of God and Poets is always subordinate to the octaves, conceits, polite kinks, and verbs.”

the critical willingness to appreciate that Whitman was neither a god nor a traitor; neither a charlatan nor a model of consistent integrity.²² Beyond question, there is some disingenuousness in the statement that he viewed Emerson as his master "for a month or so," and there is unpleasant complacency in Whitman's "positive satisfaction" over what he would have us think his brief infatuation for Emerson. There is, further, something very like plain untruth in the assertion of Emerson's preference for style over content in literature. Making all allowances, Whitman's little essay is one of the most indispensable ever written upon Emerson. In spite of the general gesture of denial, nothing recorded from Whitman's lips or pen affords more conclusive proof of Whitman's profound comprehension of Emerson, and of Emerson's mastership over him—in the Emersonian sense of mastership.

Who wants to be any man's mere follower? lurks behind every page.

That is, in a dozen words, what Emerson had to say, and significantly, it is, above all, what he had to say about masters and disciples: Emerson, the father of rebels!²³ Just so Emerson is the master of Whitman. Emerson is the great man who infected Whitman with pregnant thought. A search through Whitman's prose and verse reveals that no other writer, past or present, had a remotely comparable influence upon him. Emerson and his writings are never long out of Whitman's mind—conscious or subconscious. He preoccupies Whitman even in the period of the disclaimer quoted above.

The possible objection to my account of the relationship of these two men arises from the circumstances of Whitman's later years particularly; for Whitman certainly denied in practice the Emersonian doctrine of the repudiation of discipleship. Whitman developed something of a passion for drawing to himself and absorb-

²² It is always a pleasure to call the attention of students of Whitman to the critical magnanimity of Bliss Perry's *Walt Whitman* (Boston, 1906), though the book is censured alike by enthusiasts and calumniators of Whitman.

²³ The most important statement of Emerson on this question (for present purposes) is in the introductory section of "Representative Men." The idea is central all through that book. Cf. quotation from Whitman above, p. 82.

ing a group of four or five young men. Effectively, they became his disciples and they (more than any other forces) are responsible for the not-infrequently-met adulation of Whitman as prophet.²⁴ To Emerson, such a gathering and absorbing would have been inconceivable.

Other attitudes and ideas of Whitman seem almost equally the converse of Emerson's ideas. But that I repeat does not indicate that Emerson was not the one who stimulated Whitman intellectually and spiritually to the point where Whitman found it necessary to express his deepest original thought. For example, a typical lover of Emerson insists that Emersonian Self-Reliance is a very different thing from the self-assertion of Whitman's "Song of Myself."²⁵ To be sure, there is a difference (not so abysmal as is usually believed); yet is it not clear that no other writing of the day could so well have supplied Whitman with the seed that was to develop into the "Song of Myself" as Emerson's "Self-Reliance." Again, Whitman's insistence upon the beauty of the physical seems and is un-Emersonian; yet the loveliness of the flesh comes ever more to Whitman only in conjunction with or attendant upon the spirit. Emerson, too, could rhapsodize over physical nature, though, Puritan that he partly remained, Emerson could not rhapsodize over his own physical body. The difference is more one of temperament than of thought.²⁶ Then there is Whitman's idea of friendship or "comaraderie," utterly unlike the friendship of Emerson's famous essay;²⁷ and with the love of comrades (bus-drivers, ferry-pilots, mechanics, soldiers) goes the un-Emersonian virtue of nonchalance—a cardinal virtue with Whitman. One can say only that Whitman has now become completely fledged—in other words, quite Emersonized. That is, he has learned to consult

"Horace Traubel, one of those whom I call disciples of Whitman, has naively enough illustrated Whitman's prophetic "poses" in the stout three volumes: *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, New York, 1914-15.

"In this connection, how many are unfair to Whitman, forgetting that he says: "I celebrate myself, and sing myself,

.
For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you."

"Cf. "Song of Myself," section 3: *Leaves of Grass* (ed. Holloway, New York, 1925). Also cf. many other portions of the same poem and of the poems named "Children of Adam" (*Ibid.*, pp. 77 ff.).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 95 ff.: a series of poems named collectively—"Calamus."

his own spiritual revelations and insights as the source of truth for himself, exactly as Emerson instructs. Though the doctrine of the "divine-average" in *Democratic Vistas* is somewhat un-Emersonian, the attendant doctrine of "personalism" seems a glorification of all Emerson desired. As for the idea of the high excellence of death—particularly dear to Whitman,—death the "bitter hug of mortality,"²⁸ "the low and delicious word death,"²⁹ as for that, though it bulks much larger in Whitman, it is also in Emerson, in his master-poem *Threnody* (where death is a welcome pouring of "finite into infinite") and in his essay *Immortality*.³⁰ And lastly,—the attitude toward nature, perhaps, is more fundamental in Emerson, though Whitman wrote in *Song of Myself*:

I swear I will never again mention love or death inside a house,
And I swear I will never translate myself at all, only to him or her
who privately stays with me in the open air.

Whitman, in his last period of decrepitude, evinced a practical dependence upon nature (out of doors) quite equal to that of Thoreau or Emerson.³¹ Even in his days of partial denial of Emerson, in his days of most indubitably original thinking, Whitman (perhaps unconsciously) retained Emerson as his master in the only sense in which Emerson cared to be master of any man.³²

The complexity of the study of Whitman's attitudes toward Emerson is increased by the examination of Traubel's record of daily talks with Whitman from March 28, 1888 to January 20, 1889. There are two things to bear in mind when dealing with this extremely minute record (one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen pages!) of the talk of ten months: the master knew that

²⁸ *Song of Myself*.

²⁹ *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking*.

³⁰ *Immortality*, Boston, 1877.

³¹ The second part (after civil-war sketches) of *Specimen Days* is scarcely paralleled for its intimacy with nature by any American book except Thoreau's.

³² It may be worth noting that the three pairs of literary friends among English and American transcendentalists were very unusual in their friendships. Coleridge was master of Wordsworth, Emerson of Thoreau, Carlyle of Ruskin—only in the transcendental sense. The pupil in each case preserves and develops his own personality through the stimulation of the master who never tries to dominate.

he was being written-up—a master who, magnificent poet though he was, was sometimes disingenuous, even something of a poseur; the recorder was an acknowledged devotee or disciple, confessedly taking notes on the final pronouncements of the great man, Whitman being then in his seventieth year. The atmosphere of the book is probably a little superheated; yet Whitman was as always more often patently frank than otherwise. His comments on Emerson are very frequent, no other writer being nearly so present to him as Emerson; and the comments are almost perfectly consistent in tone. In consequence, the reader is compelled to believe in Whitman's last words about Emerson.³³ There seems to be a spontaneity in Whitman's ardent tributes to Emerson that is not to be felt in many other items of his daily conversation.

Significantly, the first paragraph on the first page is a record of Whitman's devotion to Emerson, even the senile Emerson.

The senile Emerson is the old Emerson in all that goes to make Emerson notable; this shadow is a part of him—a necessary feature of his nearly rounded life: it gives him statuesqueness—throws him, so it seems to me, impressively as a definite figure in a background of mist.³⁴

As Traubel reports, Whitman, during that period of less than one year, reverted to the subject of Emerson two hundred times! The main body of Whitman's comment was, however, not greatly varied and can be adequately represented by less than a dozen quotations. The emphasis is now (as in the excerpt above) almost continually upon Emerson's personality rather than upon his literary production; and one comes to feel that it was really through personal relations at fairly long intervals that Emerson maintained, without other effort, Whitman's final allegiance.³⁵ Emerson's essays and poems could never have held Whitman by themselves.

Two episodes out of the past evidently still bothered Whitman.

³³ Emerson had been dead for six years; Whitman was no longer a neglected poet. Any motive for anything but honesty on the subject of Emerson is hard to discover.

³⁴ Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. I, p. 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 575. Whitman's last reference to Emerson reinforces this point: "It was so with the Emersonian manner: now a piece of it, then a piece of it, finally coming to Emerson himself—there the whole genuine beautiful efflux, of which you had only caught scents, glints, glimpses, before."

He never tires of expatiating upon them. The first is that matter of Emerson's letter of high praise in 1855,³⁶ and of the protracted silence which followed it. Whitman was eager to know whether Emerson uttered no more such praises because he had changed his mind or because he didn't care to enter into controversy with the New England literati who were outraged by *Leaves of Grass*. The other episode was concerned with the physiological, sex-poems, *Children of Adam*. Emerson had, on a certain occasion, tried to persuade Whitman to omit such poems from his later editions. Whitman (true pupil of such a master) had followed his own inner light and retained them. Whitman shows himself in his old age extraordinarily solicitous that these episodes shall be made clear. In fact, there remains even yet an impression among some admirers of Emerson that he repudiated Whitman—an impression with no true foundation. There is no doubt whatever that Emerson always felt the personal attraction of Whitman and that they continued friendly to the end of Emerson's life. But Emerson did not apparently retain all his early enthusiasm for *Leaves of Grass*. Emerson recorded in his *Journal* almost invariably his literary and other most vital thoughts; yet we consult that *Journal* in vain for any sustained interest in Whitman as a writer.³⁷ Whitman did not feel certain of Emerson's attitude and he tried to persuade himself that Emerson valued *Leaves of Grass* as highly as ever. There is no escaping the conviction that Whitman longed more for the approbation of Emerson than for that of any other man. Two quotations will illustrate.

He (Emerson) was wrestled with, fought with, argued with, by the whole claque of them—the Boston second, third, raters at him: of that there can be no doubt: the circumstances do not show a surrender—even a yielding or show of yielding.³⁸

This from Whitman on the question of whether or not Emerson retracted early praises of *Leaves of Grass*.

³⁶ See p. 77, above.

³⁷ Cf. Emerson's *Journals*, vol. ix, pp. 401, 540; vol. x, p. 147. These three references are brief and colorless. When a poet had a permanent interest for Emerson, he freely recorded the fact in his *Journals*. Year after year, for example, he makes entries about Wordsworth's poems.

³⁸ *Whitman in Camden*, III, pp. 125-6. Cf. on same subject: I, p. 313; II, pp. 196-7; III, p. 266.

... why, that's what Emerson asked me to do—expurgate: he didn't call it expurgate, but that's what he meant: give the book a chance to be heard: cut the dangerous things out: they won't hurt as much out as in: excise them—throw them away: but what do you think *Leaves of Grass* would come to with *Children of Adam* thrown out? What? what? . . . To a cipher: that's all: what does a man come to with his virility gone? Emerson didn't say anything in the *Leaves* was bad: no: he only said people would insist on thinking some things bad.³⁹

So much for the second episode that seems to have haunted Whitman. He will have us know that Emerson did not disapprove, but that he merely advised as to the best method of making *Leaves of Grass* palatable to the public.

Always Whitman evinces a touching delight in telling over meetings and talks with Emerson. He describes a meal with Emerson;⁴⁰ what Emerson said to him during certain walks;⁴¹ how Emerson appreciated his prose on Democracy.⁴² He takes satisfaction in linking his name with Emerson's.

The world does not know what our relations really were—they think of our friendship as a literary friendship: it was a bit that but it was mostly something else—it was certainly more than that—for I loved Emerson for his personality and I always felt that he loved me for something I brought him from the rush of the big cities and the mass of men.⁴³

On an occasion after Whitman had been talking with a Russian rebel, he reflects:

I think Emerson was sweeter with such men than I am—was more patient, was more willing to wait their talk out.⁴⁴

He deliberately places himself with his favorites, Emerson and Lincoln.

There was Emerson—they never could hold him: no province, no clique, no church: and there was Lincoln, who did his duty, went his way untrammelled: but there are few others. I slipped out, avoided the beaten paths, tried a way of my own—that was my experiment.⁴⁵

No doubt Whitman, in these talks with Traubel was mindful of initiating something of a Whitmanian legend. How significant,

³⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 321. Cf. III, p. 439 for an even fuller account.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 505.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, 61.

⁴² *Ibid.*, III, 388.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 397.

then, that Emerson should be given the most exalted position. Four or five examples of unflawed encomium will serve, perhaps, to establish Whitman's ultimate allegiance to Emerson—to Emerson more than to any other whatever.

But after every hearsay I go back to Emerson.⁴⁶

Read all the Emerson you can—it is the best preparatory soil. Emerson is not conclusive on all points, but no man more helps to a conclusion.⁴⁷

I often say of Emerson, that the personality of the man—the wonderful heart and soul of the man, present in all he writes, thinks, does, hopes—goes far towards justifying the whole literary business—the whole raft good and bad, the entire system.⁴⁸

When you looked at Emerson it never occurred to you that there could be any villainies in the world.⁴⁹

That most of those who wrote agreed upon Emerson should occasion neither surprise nor disappointment: that seems as it should be: Emerson is great—oh! very great: I have not attempted to decide how great, how vast, how subtle: but very, very: he was a far-reaching force: a star of the first, the very first, magnitude maybe: without a doubt that.⁵⁰

If the writer of these excerpts is not tendering his allegiance to Emerson as to his great man, that is, his Master, in the transcendental sense, I may leave any reader to decide what he is doing. It need not interfere with such a conclusion that Whitman himself was transgressing one of the first rules of Emerson which would forbid a man—not merely to rely upon another man imitatively—to allow any other to rely upon him. (Whitman was encouraging discipleship to himself, inconsistently, at the very moment he was praising Emerson for refusing to impose upon the self-reliant integrity of others by taking them as disciples.) Certain it is that Whitman felt a yearning to express his affection and admiration for Emerson in such a way that the world should be apprised of it.

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⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 106.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, III, p. 185.

MATERIALS FOR INVESTIGATIONS IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF

DISSERTATIONS, ARTICLES, RESEARCH IN PROGRESS, AND COLLECTIONS OF AMERICANA

Compiled for the American Literature Group of
The Modern Language Association of America

BY ERNEST E. LEISY

Secretary of the Group

The following bibliography represents a first attempt to bring together such material as should be readily accessible to every investigator in the field of American literature. Thanks are due to scholars and librarians who have aided in making the list as full as it is. Professor J. B. Hubbell, of Southern Methodist University, has helped materially in securing information from various libraries. Despite every endeavor toward accuracy and completeness there are omissions and there may be misstatements. The compiler will be grateful if corrections will be directed to him at Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Illinois.

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 American Magazines and the Novel. D. L. Mahood. Virginia.
 Annual, The Literary Value of the. Frank Webster. Chicago.
 Annuals and Gift-Books and their Part in the Literary History of the Mid-Century. C. B. Spotts. Penna. State College.
 Beginnings of Literature in the Middle West. R. L. Rusk. Columbia.
 Big City in American Literature, The. Cordelia Crain. California.
 Development of Literary Criticism in America. Washington.
 Dramatic Criticism in the United States before 1835. Reese James. Penna.
 Early English Pronunciation in the United States. Anders Orbeck. Columbia.
 Eighteenth Century Literary Taste and Culture as reflected in Baltimore Periodicals. J. E. Uhler. Johns Hopkins.
 Frontier in Early American Fiction, The. J. H. Musser. Penna.
 History of the New Orleans Theatre, The. Lucile Gafford. Chicago.
 New England Drama, The, and Stage to 1870. W. N. Morse. Harvard.
 Pioneer Spirit in American Literature, The. Lucy Hazard. California.
 Regionalism in the Middle West. Jean Taylor. Missouri.
 Scott's Influence on American Literature. G. H. Orians. Illinois.
 Southern Mountaineer in Language and Literature, The. H. Babcock. Virginia.

In addition to these dissertations the following is a list of topics in American literature on which it is known research is in progress:

Beginnings of Literary Consciousness in the Middle States. L. E. Robinson.
 English Literary Horizon from the American Viewpoint. R. E. Spiller. Irving, Washington. Stanley T. Williams.
 Literary Criticism in America. Norman Foerster.
 Pinkney, Edward Coate. T. O. Mabbott.

H. N. Wilt is extending his "History of the Chicago Theatre" and E. E. Leisy is extending his "American Historical Novel" from 1860 to the present.

Duplication of work may be avoided if other investigators will report the subjects of their studies.

AMERICANA IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

ALABAMA*Alabama State Library, Montgomery*

Periodicals: *American Educational Monthly* (N. Y.) 1865-71; *American Review* (1845-50); *The Bookworm* (London) 1866-69; *Boston Quarterly Review*, 1839; *Christian Family Magazine and Annual* (N. Y.) 1843-45; *Christian Index* (weekly, Washington, Ga.,) 1837; *Christian Magazine* (Nashville) 1852; *De Bow's Southern and Western Review*, 1846-64; 1866-70; *Democratic Review* (N. Y.) 1839, 1840, 1852; *Eclectic Magazine*, 1860, 1873, 1876; *Edinburgh Review* (N. Y.) 1868-69; *Emporium of Arts and Sciences*, 1813, 1814; *Extra Globe*, 1840-41; *Family Circle and Parlor Annual* (N. Y.) 1845, 1846; *Godey's Ladies' Book*, 1838, 40-42, 1850, 1851, 1859, and some 1870-98; *Knickerbocker*, 1844; *The Land We Love* (Charlotte, N. C.) 1866-69; *Magnolia* (Charleston) 1842; *Magnolia* (Savannah) 1842; *Philobiblion* (N. Y.) 1861-63; *The Plow, the Loom and the Anvil* (Phila.) 1848-52; *The Radical* (Boston) 1865-72; *Scott's Monthly Magazine* (Atlanta) 1867-69; *Southern Agriculturist* (Laurensville, S. C.) 1853-54; *Southern Agriculturist and Register of Rural Affairs* (Charleston) 1828-32; *Signet and Mirror* (St. Louis) 1850-54; *Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review* (Richmond) 1846; *Southern Cabinet of Agriculture*, (Charleston) 1840; *Southern Crisis* (Wetumpka, Ala.) 1840; *Southern Cultivator* (Augusta) 1849-50; *Southern Eclectic* (Augusta) 1854; *Southern Literary Journal and Magazine of Arts*, 1838; *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1840-58; *Southern Monthly* (Memphis) 1862; *Southern Presbyterian Review* (Charleston) 1850-70; *Southern Quarterly Review*, 1842-1856; *Southern Review* (Charleston) 1828-31; *Southwestern Magazine* (1866); *Universalist Miscellany*, 1844-49; *Universalist Quarterly*, 1852-61.

CALIFORNIAa) *State Library, Sacramento*

"About 10,000 bound volumes of state newspapers, among them complete files of the first newspaper published in California, first in San Francisco, Sacramento, and some of the mining districts. These files are especially valuable, as they are made available to the historian by a newspaper index containing over 2,000,000 cards. There is also an index to California magazines of many thousand entries. Another unusual feature is a collection of California fiction, by California authors, or with a California setting. This collection is preserved for the use of the student of literature and does not circulate. There are also about 2,000 biographical cards of California authors filled out in their own handwriting. These, together with their autograph letters, original manuscripts and photographs, form a valuable source of information.

"There are many rare works on California and by Californians in all branches of literature."

Early California periodicals: *Golden Era*, 1852-; *The Pioneer*, 1854-55; *Hutchings Illustrated California Magazine*, 1856-61; *Harperian*, 1858-63; *The Overland Monthly*, 1868-; *The Californian*, 1864-67; *Argonaut*, 1877-

Early American literature: Emmons, Richard, *The Fredoniad*, 1827; Evans, Nathaniel, *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1772; Honeywood, St. John, *Poems*, 1801; Webster, Noah, *A Collection of Essays*, etc. 1790; Webster, Pelatiah, *Political Essays*, 1791; Beverly, Robert, *History and Present State of Virginia*, 1705; Brickell, John, *The Natural History of North Carolina*, 1737; Coxe, Daniel, *A Description of the English Province of Carolina*, 1741; Harris, T. M., *The Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mts.* 1805; Evans, Est. *A Pedestrian Tour of Western States*, 1818; Hutchinson, T., *History of Mass. Bay Col.*, 1774.

b) *University of California*

The Bancroft Library of Spanish-American and Californian History.

c) *Los Angeles Public Library*

"The information which you request would require probably more time than we are able to give at present."

d) *San Francisco Public Library*

"We regret that we cannot give you a list, but the resources of our library in this field are very extensive."

e) *Private Collections*

*Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal. (Very valuable. Open.)

Private library of Charles F. Lummis, 200 E. Avenue 43, Los Angeles.
Monk's Library, Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.

COLORADO

a) *Colorado State Library, Denver*

"Our State Historical Society may help you."

CONNECTICUT

a) *Conn. Historical Society*

Reports mainly "historical and genealogical material. We have a few works by the Mathers. The largest public collection of Mather's works you will find in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. . . . The Watkinson Library of Reference contains some collections in the direction of your search. We have a large collection (8,000) of early New England pamphlets of various kinds. Naturally the majority of these are sermons or of a religious

or controversial nature. There are among them some few pamphlets of early poetry."

- b) *Conn. State Library, Hartford*, reports the following important collections:

Elizabethan City Library, New Haven, Conn.; Pequot Library, Southport, Conn.; Watkinson Library, Hartford; Wesleyan University Library, Middletown, Conn.; Trinity College Library, Hartford, Conn.; Case Memorial Library, Hartford, Conn.; Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.; New London Historical Society, New London, Conn.

- c) *Yale University Library, New Haven*

"Mr. Owen F. Aldis, B.A., 1874, established the 'Yale Collection of American Literature' by presenting his unique collection of first and important editions of American belles-lettres. Colonial and Revolutionary literature is well represented by Franklin, André, Evans, Paine, Markoe, C. B. Browne, Freneau, Dunlap and many others. Of Bryant there are 125 items; the collection of editions of Cooper is probably the best in existence. Emerson and Bret Harte are practically complete. Of Holmes items there are some 200; of Hawthorne and Lowell items few are wanting. The Irving collection is complete. The collection of Poes is notable, as it contains copies of 'Al Aaraaf,' and of the 'Murders in the Rue Morgue.' Whitman is unusually complete; Willis and Halleck are fully represented, as well as the Southern school. The minor writers are also very fully represented in the collection. An important addition was made to the collection by an anonymous donor, who presented upwards of a thousand volumes of American poetry, many of them presentation copies, secured from the library of the late Edmund Clarence Stedman, B.A., 1853. Dr. Gerard E. Jensen, B.A., 1907, also presented several editions of Mrs. L. H. Sigourney's works. The entire collection promises to be one of national importance and already numbers some 7,000 items."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

- a) *Library of Congress*

"This Library is one of the principal resources of those engaged in extensive research in this general field. The aim has been broad, not confined to particular periods of particular sections.

"We have original issues of a goodly number of Cotton Mather's writings and reprint editions of others.

"Our early American imprints prior to 1751 number perhaps 850 titles. We have the *Southern Literary Messenger* and earlier literary periodicals including a respectable number of the short-lived eighteenth century magazines.

"We understand that there will be published shortly a Union List of the Eighteenth Century periodicals by the American Anti-quarian Society, Worcester, Mass., the work of William Beer and Clarence Brigham. The Library of Congress collection of Eighteenth Century periodicals will be found listed in it.

"Our collection of early Nineteenth Century general periodicals is listed in 'A Check List of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress,' Washington, Government Printing Office, 1901. A list of additions has not been printed. Our collection is exceptionally complete."

GEORGIA

a) *State Library, Atlanta*

"The State Library has a collection of Georgiana of daily increasing interest and value. One section is made up of biographies and reminiscences of Georgians, more particularly of public men and leaders of religious thought.

"There are a number of histories of the earlier periods of the State, including McCall, Stevens, and Jones and a collection of poetical works, fiction, and miscellaneous writings.

"We possess the Mary DeRenne Memorial Library which contains many rare items of colonial literature, i. e., narratives of expeditions and reports of investigations made in the Carolinas and Georgia in the time of the early settlers."

b) *Wymerley Jones de Renne Library, Savannah, Wormsloe*

c) *Georgia Historical Society Library, Savannah, Ga.*

d) *Library of the University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.*

e) *Oglethorpe University*

has Whitefield's Account for Orphan House in Georgia, 1741; Whitefield's Journal at Savannah, 1739; London Magazine, 1732 (gives a brief account of Georgia).

ILLINOIS

a) *Newberry Library, Chicago*

"We go less intensively into American literature than into English literature, due to the fact that the University of Chicago has a special fund for the purchase of books on American literature, and it is the policy of the libraries in Chicago not to duplicate each other's holdings more than is absolutely necessary.

"We have many of the works of Cotton Mather and a complete file of the Southern Literary Messenger, and many other early American magazines. We have in our Edward E. Ayer Collection on the North American Indian an exceptionally good collection of Americana.

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"We have checklists of special collections, such as:

Narratives of Captivity among the Indians of North America; American Revolutionary War Pamphlets; General Works (Polygraphy) (some of our early American magazines would be here listed); Documentary Material, relating to State Constitutional Conventions."

b) *University of Chicago Library*

has a special fund for the purchase of books pertaining to American literature.

c) *The Chicago Public Library*

"Especially rich in that branch of Americana comprising the history, exploration, and settlement of the Middle West. Our collection of travel narratives, including the standard reprints beginning with the Jesuit Relations and including, also, original editions of early western travel, e. g., Lewis and Clark, and the famous British travelers since the Revolution, is very complete. We have, also, many of the scarce items of the 'Covered Wagon' period."

d) *Lincoln Library, Springfield*

"The Library has some miscellaneous old magazines, including a long run of the Gentleman's Magazine, but in rather poor condition. Nothing unusual in poetry, and only at this late date beginning a special Lincoln collection. The State Historical Library has long collected Lincolniana."

e) Mr. Wm. S. Mason, 1401 Ridge Ave., Evanston, has a collection of Franklin.

INDIANA

a) *Indiana State Library, Indianapolis*

"The making of a list of our early imprints would take more time than our staff can give to it."

b) *Indiana University, Bloomington*

R. L. Rusk has been making a list of early imprints west of the Allegheny Mountains up to and including 1840.

IOWA

a) *Iowa State Library, Des Moines*

Coggeshall, William T., *Poets and Poetry of the West*, 1860; Gallagher, W. D. ed., *Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West*, 1841. A printed list of periodicals embodied in Report of 1916, pp. 157-194.

KANSAS

a) *Kansas State Library, Topeka*

has much material on early Kansas history, the Santa Fe trail, etc.

KENTUCKY

a) *Louisville Free Public Library*

Confederate Collection (books and pamphlets on Confederate subjects); 300 Kentucky authors, including classified collection of clippings; Kentucky History Collection; also files of old Louisville newspapers.

b) *Filson Club, Louisville: Kentucky History*

LOUISIANA

a) *New Orleans Public Library*

"The New Orleans Public Library has a few Southern magazines. We have DeBow's *Commercial Review*, O. S., for Jan. 1846-July 1855, 1856-1858, 1860.

"We have a fairly good Louisiana historical collection and a good collection of Southern and Louisiana fiction."

MAINE

a) *Bowdoin College, Brunswick*

"Editions and translations of Longfellow and biographical critical essays, over 500 vols. Also books by Maine authors and about the State of Maine."

MARYLAND

a) *Peabody Institute, Baltimore*

"This is a reference Library of about 212,000 well-selected books for the use of students. It has a good representation of the writings of early American writers, and the *Southern Literary Messenger* and other early American magazines."

b) *Johns Hopkins*

"A small collection of Southern Literature."

c) *The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore*

"Local history and bound newspapers. Visiting scholars will be welcomed."

d) Mrs. Frances Tazewell Redwood, 918 Madison Ave., Baltimore, has early American social letters.

MASSACHUSETTS

a) *Boston Public Library*

"It is hardly worth while to attempt any summary of our re-

sources. You mention as examples the *Southern Literary Messenger* and the works of Cotton Mather. We have a complete set of the former and of the latter we have more than two hundred titles in editions published during his lifetime. In the Prince Library, consisting of some three thousand volumes collected by the Rev. Thomas Prince before his death in 1758, we have a somewhat unusual collection of early New England books; in fact the reverend collector styled his library The New England Library, and made a conscious attempt to gather all that was most important in New England literature and history up to the time of his death.

"The Artz Collection, which is in constant process of enlargement with the aid of a fund left for the purpose, consists of first editions of poetry and is especially strong in the work of the New England poets of the last century. The Twentieth Regiment Collection consists of works more or less closely connected with the history of the Civil War and contains a good deal of original material of interest. The Franklin Collection is being built up around the personality of Boston's most eminent son."

b) *Boston Athenaeum*

"We have such rare books and magazines as usually drift into an old library, but we do not make a special effort to collect material because it is rare or old."

c) *Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston*

"This Library has copies of many rare books, including a good number of the works of the Mathers; also some of the early magazines. In the subjects, American drama and poetry, we may have a few titles which will be of service to you. We shall be happy to offer here every facility for research within our power in American Literature."

d) *Cambridge Public Library*

"First editions of our later Cambridge writers, like Longfellow, and complete file of Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1792 to date."

e) *Harvard University Library, Cambridge*

Has over 10,000 volumes classified as American Literature, but this includes less than half the number of volumes bearing on the subject, among which are publications of colonial times in tract volumes; the American Drama Collection, largely the gift of Evert J. Wendell; the collection of poetry presented to Longfellow; a similar portion of the libraries of J. R. Lowell, C. W. Eliot, T. W. Higginson, and Amy Lowell; publications of the Mather family; printed folklore accumulated by Professor Kittredge; material classified as "Theatre" instead of "Literature" or "Drama"; etc. See also A. C. Potter's "Descriptive and Historical Notes on the Harvard Library," third ed. (1915), p. 42.

f) *Wellesley College, Wellesley*

Includes among G. H. Palmer's rare editions some items of great value under Poe, Lowell, Emerson, Whitman, etc. See catalogue of this, published by Houghton, 1923.

g) *Haverhill Public Library:*

"Has a John G. Whittier collection containing, with one exception, a first edition of each of Whittier's works, and many books about him; also newspapers, periodicals, etc., containing first appearances of Whittier's writings. Special endowment funds for New England town and county history, genealogy, and the fine arts."

h) *American Antiquarian Society, Worcester*

"We have very large collections relating to American literature, so it would be difficult to particularize, except to say that we have files of practically all American periodicals as far as 1870, with many files since that date. We have most of the writings of the American authors, especially in the earlier period. There is also much material in the field of American literature to be found in our collection of newspapers. In other words, a library like this, which has 300,000 titles devoted almost entirely to the history of this country, would contain a large proportion of the existing material of American literature. We have no manuscripts, however, of a literary nature, since the manuscript material is almost entirely historical." Has 4,000 almanacs printed before 1850.

i) *The Essex Institute, Salem*

"As our library is over a hundred years old, of course we do have a number of rare books, although more in the line of history than literature perhaps; as for early magazines, we have one-fourth of those listed in the recent volume of the American Antiquarian Society, with many after 1800 not thoroughly catalogued. We have never bought much in the way of literature, but have had many gifts, so that we may have some early books."

MICHIGAN

a) *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

"This library contains a rather unusual collection of early American plays, and many early editions of American 'classics.'"

b) *The Clements Historical Library, Ann Arbor*

"This library has an unusual collection of revolutionary poetry; and some valuable pre-revolutionary drama and poetry; also a Cotton Mather library of considerable size. A catalogue of this library was published by the University in 1923. These two libraries offer extraordinary opportunity for study of Early American literature, and a good opportunity for the late periods."

MINNESOTA

a) *Minnesota Historical Society, Saint Paul*

"Our library is primarily an historical one. In this field it is confined in the main to Americana with special emphasis on the West. Biographical and critical material about literary people is included in large quantities.

"Of recent years we have been devoting attention especially to materials relating to or produced by the Scandinavian elements in America, and we have probably the largest collections extant in this field."

The following material is in the manuscript division: Dwight, Timothy, A Commonplace Book; Letters by Washington Irving and Matilda Hoffman; Donnelly, Ignatius, some 60 boxes of correspondence and other papers; several unprinted letters of Daniel Webster; letter from Alexander Hesler describing how he made the first picture of Minnehaha Falls, which fell into Longfellow's hands and from which he conceived the poem *Hiawatha*; original poem by Dolly Madison; letters by Edward Everett, John Burroughs, J. G. Saxe, George Tucker, Walt Whitman, and J. G. Holland.

MISSISSIPPI

a) *State Library, Jackson*

Reports "some very rare books that are out of print."

MISSOURI

a) *Washington University, St. Louis*

"A collection of first editions of American authors and the Collection on Nathaniel Hawthorne gathered together by George Barr McCutcheon, both collections presented by Mr. W. K. Bixby of St. Louis."

b) *The St. Louis Mercantile Library and the Library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis*

Possess good collections on the history of the Middle West and of Missouri in particular. Good collections of Western newspapers are available.

c) *Collection of Mr. W. K. Bixby, St. Louis*

Contains many items of value to the special investigator who should make special application to him.

d) *St. Louis Public Library*

"Very good collection of publications of Methodist Episcopal Church, South; also the library of the late William Marion Reedy, consisting of 702 volumes."

NEBRASKA

a) *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

The Simon Kerl library, given to the Univ. of Nebraska, contains many volumes of interest, like Dwight's *Conquest of Canaan* (1794), Barlow's *Columbiad* (1807), etc. The works of many minor poets are to be found in this collection. Several hundreds of Nebraska folk-songs.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

a) *State Library, Concord:*

"We have no collection of fiction, drama or poetry except by New Hampshire authors. We have turned over to the Historical Society any manuscripts we have had in the past. Our library consists of about 172,000 volumes of which 36,000 comprise the law department."

b) Aldrich Memorial, Portsmouth, has the best Aldrich collection.

NEW JERSEY

a) *Princeton University Library, Princeton*

"The Pierson Civil War collection is very rich in the social and literary history of the period. We have been developing it during the last few years by the addition of material related particularly to the Southern States. Our collection of New Jersey imprints includes titles before 1840. Many rare American imprints of the 18th century are included in the pamphlet collections made by President Witherspoon. The Laurence Hutton collection includes material on the history of the American stage. The library of George H. Boker, recently given to the University, contains many first editions of American authors inscribed as gifts to Boker. It contains also the manuscripts of his plays and poems, some of which are as yet unpublished. Our collection of the writings of President Wilson and of the literature about him is, so far as we can ascertain, complete. We are very soon to receive a collection of books relating to the cattle industry in the West . . . the most complete that has ever been made."

NEW YORK

a) *New York Society Library, New York*

"This library has the circulating fiction of James Hammond, of Newport, Rhode Island. It consists of 1850 volumes, published in various towns and cities of the United States between 1750 and 1830. There are 393 volumes published before 1801. Most of the towns, probably, have not published novels since these, as publishing is concentrated in cities. We are not anxious to call attention to this collection as the old paper covers are a curiosity, and we do not dust them for fear of losing the covers, and handling the books

does not improve them. In the circulating portion of the Society Library are numerous works of fiction long out of print, files of early American magazines. It also has a collection of newspapers printed before 1800, which was unique, but the New York Historical Society is now making photostat copies, which may be seen in several libraries."

b) *New York Public Library*

Early American poetry, 1610-1820, a list compiled by J. C. Frank, 1917, includes the valuable Duyckinck collection of 10,000 volumes; the Beadles Collection of dime novels (Bulletin, July 1922); list of American dramas in the library, 1916; Hawthorne list in Bulletin 8: 312.

c) *New York Historical Society Library*

"Will some day, when the opportunity presents itself for a proper display of its literary treasures, be found to possess a most extensive and valuable collection."

d) *New York State Library, Albany*

"The New York State Library's manuscript collection is only within the field of history. It has large special collections, and in each of them there are many notable items of early American magazines, American poetry, particularly the minor poetry prior to 1880, and many copies of rare Americana, chiefly in the field of history, however.

"There is one special collection which your association may wish to note. This library collects all American imprints prior to 1800 and all New York State imprints prior to 1825, and these of course without regard to subject."

e) *Cornell University, Ithaca*

"Many first editions of Fenimore Cooper; the Jared Sparks Collection of early period; letters, MSS., etc. of Bayard Taylor; books on Colonial and Revolutionary periods collected by M. C. Tyler; the unrivaled May Collection of anti-slavery literature."

f) *Private collections*

Mrs. Florence Scovill Shinn, New York: MSS. of F. Hopkinson, open to responsible persons; Mr. Oscar Lion, 118 East 25th St., New York, has 300 volumes of first and rare editions of Whitmaniana; Pres. F. W. Atkinson, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, collection of American plays. Open to responsible people. Mr. Henry Goldsmith, 315 West 115th St., New York, has 300 volumes of Whitmaniana, besides letters, photographs.

NORTH CAROLINA

a) *State Library, Raleigh*

"We have specialized in State and Confederate history; also trying to enlarge our genealogical department."

b) *Wake Forest, Wake Forest*

"Some rare North Caroliniana."

c) *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

"The North Carolina Collection, the most nearly complete in existence, consists of 9,000 volumes and 20,000 catalogued pamphlets relating to N. Carolina History and Literature and includes the collection by the late S. B. Weeks."

OHIO

a) *Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland*

"Has made and is making valuable collections, especially in regard to Ohio, but broadly in American History."

b) *Ohio State Library, Columbus*

Contains the following periodicals: *American Pioneer* (Chillicothe and Cin.) 1842-43; *Cincinnati Miscellany*, 1844-46; *Cincinnati Parterre*, 1832; *Cincinnati*, 1857-60; *Crusader* (Cin.) 1858; *Genius of the West* (Cin.) 1855-56; *Gentleman's Magazine* (Cin.) 1848; *Herald of Truth* (Cin.) 1847-48; *Hesperian* (Columbus and Cin.) 1838-39; *Illinois Monthly Magazine* (Vandalia) 1830-31; *Journal of Man* (Cin.) 1849; *Literary Focus* (Oxford) 1827-28; *Literary Register* (Cin.) 1828; *Magazine of Western History* (Cleveland) 1884-90; *Marietta College Magazine*, 1855-57; *Millennial Harbinger* (Bethany, Ky.) 1831-60; *Miscellaneous Repository* (Mt. Pleasant and St. Clairsville, O.) 1829-30, 1836; *Monthly Chronicle* (Cin.) 1838-39; *Oberlin Students' Monthly* (Oberlin) 1859-60; *Odd Fellows' Casket and Review* (Cin.) 1858-59; *Ohio Educational Monthly* (Columbus) 1852-date; *Ohio Journal of Education* (Columbus) 1852-59; *Ohio School Journal* (Cleveland) 1846-49; *Ohio Teacher* (Col. Clev. and Cin.) 1850-52; *Olden Time* (Cin.) 1846-47; *Pen and Pencil* (Cin.) 1843; *Public School Advocate* (Col.) 1851; *Quarterly Journal and Review* (Cin.) 1846; *Rose of the Valley* (Cin.) 1839; *Scientific Artisan* (Cin.) 1859-61; *Sideral Messenger* (Cin.) 1846-47; *Southern Bivouac* (Louisville, Ky.) 1885-87; *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1836; *Southern Review* (Charleston, S. C.) 1828-32; *Spirit of the Lakes and Boatman's Magazine* (Sandusky) 1849; *Templar's Magazine* (Cin.) 1850-57; *Transylvania, or Lexington Literary Journal* (Lexington, Ky.) 1829; *Western Academician and Journal of Education and Science* (Cin.) 1837-38; *Western Agriculturist*, (Col.) 1851; *Western Farmer*,

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(Cin.) 1840-45; *Western Farmer and Gardner*, (Cin.) 1840-41; *Western Literary Journal* (Cin.) 1845; *Western Literary Magazine* (Cin.) 1845; *Western Messenger*, (Louisville, Ky. and Cin.) 1836-39; *Western Monthly Magazine* (Cin.) 1833-36; *Western Monthly Review*, (Cin.) 1828-30; *Western People's Magazine*, (Cin.) 1834; *Western Quarterly Review*, (Cin.) 1849-50; *Western Review*, (Lexington, Ky.) 1820-21; *Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine*, (Columbus) 1846.

OKLAHOMA

a) *Tulsa Public Library*

Reports some "valuable books on American Indians, including McKenney's *Tour of the Lakes* (1827) and his *History of North American Indians*, 3 vol. (1837)."

b) Personal libraries of Judge W. I. Williams, and Mr. Philip Kates, Tulsa.

PENNSYLVANIA

a) *The Free Library of Philadelphia*

Bulletins 8 and 9, lists of Serials in the Principal Libraries of Philadelphia, 1908, 1910; Hildeburn, Charles R. *The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784* (1885), 2 vols.

b) *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia*

Reports "a collection of manuscripts covering almost all of American biography of importance. Among the manuscripts are to be found the plays of Richard Penn Smith and Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*. We do not, however, make a specialty of securing the manuscript copies of the productions of these people, but rather tend towards letters interesting from their biographical standpoint. These, I should think, would run up into millions in this institution." Contains Collection of Pennsylvania imprints, 1685-1825, and Cassell Collection of Pennsylvania-German imprints.

c) *Drexel Institute Library, Philadelphia*

Has manuscripts of work by Bryant, Cooper, Lowell, Poe, etc.

d) *University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia*

"The library in American Literature has been built up in connection with the graduate and undergraduate courses in the subject during the last twenty years and contains adequate facilities for research. Among special collections are the Lamborn Collection of American Literature and the Clothier and Class of 1894 Collections of American Drama. The latter now includes the manuscripts of Robert Montgomery Bird and other playwrights. It was based on a collection of plays made for twenty-five years by a collector in

Philadelphia and has the complete works of Dunlap, Payne, Boker and other early playwrights, while it is constantly being added to by purchase of recent material. The historical material on the American theatre is believed to be complete, including Westcott's illustrated edition of Durang's unpublished *History of the Philadelphia Stage* in five volumes."

e) *Swarthmore College, Swarthmore*

"The Library of the Friends Historical Society, in the Library of Swarthmore College, has an excellent collection of Quaker books, particularly American, open to the public upon application to the Librarian."

f) *Private Collections*

Edward Hopkinson, The Gladstone, 11th and Pine Sts., Philadelphia; letters from almost every American of importance who lived between 1775 and 1850. Open to responsible people.

The Biddle family, Philadelphia; many letters of Revolutionary period and later. Open to responsible persons.

Simon Gratz, Philadelphia; valuable collection of early period. Not open.

RHODE ISLAND

a) *Brown University, Providence*

The Harris Collection of 12,299 vols. "contains two-thirds of the books of American poetry printed before 1800, three-fourths of those printed from 1800 to 1870, and one-half of those from 1870 to 1903. The Walt Whitman collection comprises 50 imprints including 13 editions of *Leaves of Grass*. Wm. Dunlap is represented by 25 titles; John Howard Payne and Poe are well represented. Other features are: American drama, song-books, classified as martial, negro minstrel, presidential campaign, temperance, etc. Poetry collection includes also Canada and Spanish America." See Catalogue of John Carter Brown Library (1919, 1923) for collection of American Colonial history to 1800.

SOUTH CAROLINA

a) *College of Charleston*

"Has files of newspapers of the early nineteenth century, which might be of incidental use in the study of Southern literature. A few of the volumes are unique. There is a collection of bound pamphlets containing addresses, orations, etc."

b) *Charleston Library Society*

"Has an excellent collection of works by Carolina authors; of newspaper files from early eighteenth century; and a collection of literature pertaining to the war between the states, with many clippings."

112 *Materials for Investigations in American Literature*

c) *University of South Carolina, Columbia*

"No special collections. Has Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Lond., 1702; Smith, John, *Generall History of Virginia*, Lond., Blackmore, 1632. See Appendix B of Bulletin 134 "Caroliniana."

- d) Private Collections of Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., Professor Yates Snowden, Mr. August Kohn, all of Columbia, containing South Caroliniana.

TENNESSEE.

a) *State Library, Nashville*

"Has some valuable manuscripts of our early governors, such as the John Sevier papers."

TEXAS

a) *State Library, Austin*

With the Littlefield fund "the effort is being made to collect everything available emanating from and concerning the centers of Spanish-Colonial life in the Southwest—Santa Fe, San Antonio, New Orleans, Mobile, St. Augustine. . . . Our library is trying to collect Texana, too; but the University library is far ahead of ours because it has had so much more money to spend."

b) *University of Texas, Austin*

Particularly rich in certain kinds of Americana.

1) Wrenn Library:

1. An almost complete run of first editions of Irving, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Emerson, and Holmes.
2. A valuable collection of Poe, including manuscripts, the rare *Poems* of 1831, and Poe's own copy of *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, 1840.
3. Manuscripts and letters of Holmes, Whittier, etc.
4. A remarkable collection of Eugene Field, including one manuscript.
5. Odd volumes (1st editions and ass. copies) of Howells, Harte, Twain.
6. First edition of American historians, Bancroft, Parkman, Fiske, Motley.
7. Special publications of William Lowring Andrews, De Vinne, Grolier Club, Caxton Club, and Duodecimo Club.

2) Bieber Collection of American Poetry. More than 7,200 items, falling approximately into the following groups:

1. Manuscripts, 1768—present.
2. Local poetry and ballads, printed privately or by subscription.

3. Long runs of successive editions of such items as *The Star-Spangled Banner* and *Drake's Culprit Fay*.
 4. Occasional Poetry, such as poetry on the death of Washington, Lincoln, etc.
 5. Works of the Boston Wits, including the magazine, *The Echo*, founded in imitation of the English *Anti-Jacobin*.
 6. Collections of poems illustrating the rise of various humanitarian movements in the United States.
 7. A very considerable collection of plays, both those written in the United States and those written in England and produced in America.
 8. A great mass of music, including hymns from early colonial days to present, patriotic songs, and popular stage music.
 9. Colonial sermons.
- 3) Hilliard Library of Southern Literature. About 500 volumes of Southern prose and poetry, mostly nineteenth century authors.
- 4) Littlefield Collection of Southern Literature. Income of \$100,000 spent annually on purchase of material on Southern history, literature, social and economic works, law, etc. Nearly complete file of Charleston newspapers from 1799 to present. Many other files of Richmond, Washington, and other newspapers, periodicals, manuscripts, etc.
- 5) Our general Library besides the standard magazines contains a complete or almost complete file of most of the early American magazines, such as *Portfolio*, *Knickerbockers*, *Dial*, *Galaxy*, *New Englander*, *Southern Literary Messenger*, *Southern Review*, *New Eclectic*, *Southern Quarterly*, *Analectic*, *Weekly Register*, *Niles's Register*, *Democratic Review*, *Grabow's Magazine*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, *DeBow's Review*, *Peterson's Review*, *Russell's Magazine*, etc.
- c) *Southern Methodist University, Dallas*
- "We have little of importance except the Shettles Collection, which includes a large number of novels, poems, etc. written by writers of the Southwest,—all minor authors, of course."
- d) *Private Collections*
- Dr. Alexander Dienst, Austin, has much material of interest for Texas literature, including a fine collection of Texas poetry. Mrs. W. H. Stark, Orange, has a few manuscripts of Joel Chandler Harris.

VERMONT

- a) Middlebury College, Middlebury, has received the Abernethy Library of American literature at Burlington, Vt.

VIRGINIA

a) *State Library, Richmond*

"Our manuscripts are extremely valuable historically, since we have the archives of the State from Colonial times—such of them as have been preserved—but they are not of any special value, probably, from the point of view of literature.

"I may say, in addition, that we have published at the Virginia State Library the Journals of the House of Burgesses and the Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, and that these two sets of books are extremely valuable to any one making a study of the development of the language here in Virginia. Hening's Statutes at Large are also valuable from this point of view."

The Library contains the following rare magazines: *American Museum* (Phila.) 1787; *American Quarterly Review* (Phila.) 1827; *American Register* (Phila.) 1817; *Balance and Columbian Repository* (Hudson, N. Y.) 1802; *Baltimore Literary Monument*, 1839; *Eclectic Magazine*, 1844; *Family Magazine* (N. Y.) 1833; *Galaxy* (N. Y.) 1866; *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1830; *International Review* (N. Y.) 1874; *Land we Love* (Charlotte, N. C.) 1866; *Lippincott's Magazine* (Phila.) 1868; *Literary Magazine and American Register* (Phila.) 1803; *National Magazine* (Richmond) 1799; *National Quarterly Review* (N. Y.) 1866; *New Eclectic Magazine* (Baltimore) 1868; *N. Y. Literary Gazette and American Athenaeum*, 1825; *N. Y. Literary Gazette and Phi Beta Kappa Repository*, 1825; *N. Y. Magazine or Literary Repository*, 1790; *N. Y. Mirror*, 1824; *N. Y. Review*, 1837; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Balt.) 1811; *Norton's Literary Adviser* (N. Y.) 1851; *Old Dominion Magazine* (Richmond) 1870; *Olden Time* (Pittsburgh) 1846; *Phila. Monthly Magazine, or Universal Depository*, 1798; *Portfolio*, 1801; *Potter's American Monthly* (Phila.) 1872; *Richmond Age*, 1864; *Richmond Eclectic*, 1866; *Russell's Magazine* (Charleston) 1857(?); *South Atlantic* (Wilmington, N. C.) 1878(?); *Southern Historical Monthly* (Raleigh 1876); *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1834; *Southern Magazine* (Balt.) 1871 (continued from *New Eclectic*); *Southern Quarterly Review* (N. Orleans and Charleston) 1842; *Southern Review* (Charleston) 1828; *Southern Review* (Balt.) 1867; *Southwestern Monthly* (Nashville) 1852; *U. S. Literary Gazette* (Boston) 1825; *U. S. Review* (N. Y.) 1853; *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine* (Richmond) 1818; *Virginia Historical Register* (Richmond) 1848; *Virginia Historical Reporter* (Richmond) 1854; *Virginia Literary Museum*, 1829; *Virginia Lyceum* (Richmond) 1839; *Waldie's Select Circulating Library* (Phila.) 1833.

b) *Virginia Historical Society, Richmond*

"Our manuscripts are almost all strictly historical."

c) *University of Virginia, Charlottesville*

"Has a very large collection of early editions of Poe's works." The following first editions are mentioned: Bryant, William Cullen, *The Fountain and Other Poems* (N. Y.) 1842; Burk, John, *Bunker Hill, or the Death of General Warren. An Historic tragedy, in five acts* (N. Y.) July, 1817; Cable, George W., *Strange True Stories of Louisiana* (N. Y.) 1889; Clemens, Samuel, *Old times on the Mississippi* (Toronto) 1876; *Roughing It* (Hartford) 1872; *A Tramp Abroad* (Hartford) 1880; Cooper, J. Fenimore, *Home as Found* (Phila.) 1838, 2v.; *The Monikins*, 2v.; *The Pathfinder* (Phila.) 1840, 2v.; Dunlap, William, *A History of the American Theatre* (N. Y.) 1832; Johnston, Richard M., *Mr. Absalom Billingslea and other Georgia Folk* (N. Y.) 1888; Murfree, Mary N., *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* (Boston) 1885. Also the following rare Americana: Hayne, Paul H., *Sonnets and Other Poems* (Charleston) 1857; Henry, Patrick, autograph deed written by Patrick Henry; Jefferson, Thomas, *Early History of the University of Virginia* contained in the letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell (Richmond), 1856; Lanier, Sydney, *Poems* (Phila.) 1877; and first editions of fifteen of Bret Harte's works.

d) *College of William and Mary, Williamsburg*

"We possess a very valuable collection of manuscripts and pamphlets relating to the College of William and Mary which, of course, means the history of early education in Virginia and the United States."

e) *Randolph-Macon Womans College, Lynchburg*

Has 9 volumes Peter Force archives (Washington) 1837-53.

f) Private collection of papers of Judge St. George Tucker owned by Mr. George P. Coleman, Williamsburg. Cannot be consulted.

WASHINGTON

a) *University of Washington, Seattle*

"We have no special collections of Americana and no private collections are available. I am slowly gathering such Americana as I can find."

WISCONSIN

a) *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Faxon collection of American annuals. Very good collection of American periodicals, perhaps best in West. Library of State Historical Society housed with University Library especially rich in early Americana, both originals and limited reprints. University Library has bought to fill gaps caused by unsystematic collecting in Historical Library.

Illinois Wesleyan University.

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Volume XXIII

APRIL, 1926

Number 2

Studies in Philology

Edited by JAMES F. ROYSTER

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ELIZABETHAN STUDIES: ELEVENTH SERIES

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Studies in Philology

Volume XXIII

April, 1926

Number 2

A NEW STUDY OF SHAKSPERE'S WILL

BY SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

Fate had decreed that William Shakspeare, gentleman, should be of such an eminently practical temperament, so sane and sober in worldly affairs, so fortunate in his stars, and, withal, so unpoetical, as to prosper sufficiently to accumulate a few hundred pounds and to purchase lands in London, lands and tithes in his native town and its environs, thus "re-establishing the fallen fortunes of his family" (as some biographers like to put it) and assuring himself "dignity and reputation." Strangely enough, almost three months, to the day, before he died, this practical and sane man—some doubt is permissible about the "sober" part (for it has been alleged that he favored "the thirst complaint")—sent for or called on Francis Collins, a popular attorney residing in Warwick, and had his will drawn. The document, as it seems, was prepared on January 25th, 1615[-16], but its subscription was for some reason postponed. On the 25th day of March, just two months later, Shakspeare's last will and testament—with numerous alterations, erasures, corrections and interlineations—was subscribed by the testator, in all probability at his residence, in the "great house" known as New Place, in the presence of his attorney and four friends and neighbors acting as subscribing witnesses.

In this document, each page of it bearing the poet's signature, the testator left (gave, willed, bequeathed and devised, the solicitor says), in the customary legal phraseology, such unconsidered trifles as lands, houses, and moneys to various devisees and legatees, his "wearing Apparell" to his sister "Jone," his "Plate" to his "Neece Elizabeth Hall," "tenn poundes vnto the Poore of Strat-

ford" (an item the "Baconians" usually forget to mention), his "Sword" to "mr Thomas Combe," various sums to various men in and about Stratford, his "broad silver gilt bole" to his daughter Judith, to his "ffellowes John Hemyñge Richard Burbage & Henry Cundell xxvj^s viij^d A peece to buy them Rings," and—in a much discussed interlineation—his "second best bed" (with its furnishings) unto his sixty-one or sixty-two year old "wief."¹

To our great regret this famous and in many respects disappointing and pathetic document—one scholarly, dispassionate and virtuously indignant "Baconian" calls it an "infamous document"—says not a word about books and manuscripts. Of course, these might have been included amongst the "goodes Chatteles . . . & household stuffe" bequeathed to his "Sonne in Lawe John Hall gent."² But the fact is that they were not mentioned. Other literary men (Richard Barnefield, John Marston, Samuel Daniel, Reginald Scot) have been known not to mention their books and manuscripts, possibly because they had disposed of their books and even manuscripts by word of mouth, or because they did not consider their books and manuscripts as valuable property. Shakspeare was not a wealthy man and probably never owned many books. His manuscripts, if he had any, he probably did not regard in the light of property, and such books as he owned had then no great money value. That there are very good reasons for thinking that at least one of Shakspeare's books, a copy of the first edition of the English translation of Montaigne's *Essays*, has come down to us I have shown in an essay entitled "Reclaiming One of Shakspeare's Signatures" (*Studies in Philology*, July, 1925). Most of the books he read were the current publications of his day and could be purchased at a few pence or, at most, at a few shillings a piece;

¹ How little qualified some of the eighteenth-century Shaksperians were in the realm of paleography is strikingly demonstrated by their misreadings of Shakspeare's will. Theobald and the other editors after him read this famous bequest as "my brown best bed"; instead of "Bushopton" they read "Bushaxton"; instead of "perceived," "reserved" or "preserved"; instead of "gilt bole," "gilt boxes," and even Malone (who corrected these errors) read the original date of the will as "February" (and was followed in this by Dr. Drake in 1817)!

² Unfortunately the inventory of the poet's goods "exhibited" when the will was probated has never been found.

and they were not the kind of books Puritan Doctor and Mistress Hall were likely to value.

The will, now carefully safeguarded at Somerset House, London,^{*} is written in good old English script on one side of each of three unnumbered(!) folio sheets of paper, each sheet measuring approximately $12\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ inches and having a blank margin about two inches wide on the left side and at the top. The first two pages have a blank margin about half an inch wide at the bottom. Shakspeare's most important signature, preceded by the words "By me" in his own handwriting, occurs about nine and a quarter inches from the top of the third page. The names of the four witnesses (Julyus Shawe, John Robinson, Hamnet Sadler, Robert Whattcott) and of the solicitor are written on the third page in a vertical column to the left of the testator's signature, in exact accordance with modern practice, and encroaching slightly on the left margin. The upper corners of the document are gone, and the edges are rather badly worn and frayed; here and there cracks and tears give evidence of careless handling and of age and wear.

When in 1747 the Rev. Joseph Green of Stratford-on-Avon discovered the will in the Court of Probate, Doctors' Commons, London, where it had lain since June 22, 1616, the three sheets of which it is composed were "joined together in the middle of the top margins which [were] covered with a narrow strip of parchment." In an interesting but neglected study of the will published in 1864,⁴ Mr. Howard Staunton informs us that the will "occupies three sheets of what is technically called 'pot,' a paper so named

^{*} From Sir Sidney Lee (*A Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 518) we learn that Shakspeare's will is kept in a locked oaken box in the "strong room" of the Principal Probate Registry. "Each of the three sheets . . . has been placed in a separate locked oaken frame between two sheets of glass. The paper, which had suffered from handling, has been mended with *pelure d'oignon*, or some such transparent material, and fixed to the glass. . . . Every care is now taken of the will. Visitors are only allowed to inspect it in the strong room. . . . The frames are never unlocked. Permission is given to photograph the will under special precautions [and on the payment of a fee of one pound]." When the will is not exhibited, it is locked away in a case made for the purpose.

⁴ *Memorials of Shakespeare*. Comprising the poet's will . . . letter-press copy of same and record of the will in the register book. London, n. d.; folio, pp. 19.

from the representation of a jug or pot which formed its water-mark. . . . It is noteworthy that the three sheets of paper are of as many makes. The water-marks on Nos. 1 and 2 are different, and on No. 3 there is no trace of any mark whatever. All are probably of foreign manufacture, for papermaking was only in its infancy when the will was engrossed."

Sir Sidney Lee says (*A Life of William Shakespeare*, 1916, p. 480), without any reservations, that "the will was written by Francis Collins," but Mr. J. P. Baxter (*The Greatest of Literary Problems*, 1915, p. 292) quotes a letter (dated "Jan. 18, 1915") from Mr. Fred. C. Wellstood, the Secretary of the 'Birthplace,' saying that he had made a study of Collins' penmanship and had been convinced that the will was written by "some clerk" employed by Collins. The theory put forward by Colonel John C. Jeaffreson in 1882 in the pages of *The Athenaeum*, then by Mr. J. Pym Yeatman, an English barrister (*Is Shakespeare's Will Holographic?* 1901), and subsequently independently by an Austrian graphologist, Miss Magdalene Thumm-Kintzell (one of the editors of a short-lived German magazine called *Der Menschenkenner*,⁵ cf. issue of January, 1909), that Shakspeare wrote his own will,⁶ is not worthy of more serious consideration than this lady's assertion that the poet also wrote the conveyance and the mortgage pertaining to the Blackfriars property, or Sir George Greenwood's assertion that in Shakspeare's autograph on the third page of the will the words "By me William" were written by Thomas Greene, the poet's "cosen." To one unfamiliar with Elizabethan script and with the science of graphiology ("bibliotics," Dr. Persifor Frazer called it) the mistaken identification of one specimen of writing with another specimen written in that calligraphic system is as easy and as natural as it is for a white man who does not have frequent contacts with negroes to mistake one for another; i. e., to fail to see the distinguishing individual features. One who takes the trouble to compare even only the capital letters in Shakspeare's autograph with the same letters in Greene's diary (cf.

⁵ Not, as Sir George Greenwood calls it, *Der Menschen Renner*.

⁶ Miss Thumm-Kintzell had also made the claim that Francis Bacon's letter to Sir John Puckering (B. M., Harl. MS. 6997, f. 72) as well as his *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* (B. M., Harl. MS. 7017) are in Shakspeare's handwriting!

Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, ed. 10, I, 248) will have not¹ the slightest doubt that these two handwritings are not the work of one person.

The date of the will calls for some consideration. Close to the upper margin of the first page are these words: "Vicesimo Quinto die [Januarij] *Mrtij*⁷ Anno Regni Dñi nri Jacobi nunc *Ris* Anglie / & decimo quarto & Scotie xlix^o Anno⁹ dñi 1616." It will be noted that 'January' was struck out and 'March' written above it. As this stands now the will declares that it was written on the 25th day of March in the legal year 1616 and in the 14th year of King James' reign over England. This statement of the legal and regnal years is correct, inasmuch as March 25th was the first day of the legal year (1616) and the second day of King James' fourteenth regnal year (James having ascended the English throne on March 24th, 1603).⁸

Inasmuch as it is difficult to believe that in the fourth week of March a professional scrivener or clerk would erroneously designate the month as "January"—although such a slip of the pen is not impossible—it has been generally assumed that on the 25th of March the solicitor determined to revise the original will and that in rewriting the first seven or eight lines (the date and the religious exordium) the clerk unthinkingly copied the original before him even as to the name of the month and the number of the regnal year. That this happened as stated is highly improbable. In January 1615[-16] the regnal year was the thirteenth; January of the fourteenth regnal year of James I would have been in the legal year 1616[-17]; and it is most improbable that in the eleventh month of the regnal year a lawyer's clerk would not know the correct number of the regnal year. What actually happened may be conjectured to have been this: Collins asked his "servant" to take a sheet of paper (which he probably brought along with him), copy the date and the exordium but alter the month and the number of the regnal year. Inadvertently, perhaps because of inattention resulting from the

⁷ In our quotations from the will words printed in square brackets represent erasures in the original, and words in italics represent interlineations.

⁸ George Brandes (*William Shakespeare*, 1898, II, 406) makes the incorrect and muddled statement that Shakspeare "must have been seriously ill in January 1616, for above the actual date of his will, *March 25th*, stands that of *January*, as though he had begun to draw it up, and then, feeling better, had postponed his intention of making a will."

excitement manifest in the household, he copied the word "Januarij"; but as he went on his mind settled on his work, and he remembered to alter "decimo tertio" to "decimo quarto." That he altered "1615" to "1616" goes almost without saying.

Some commentators are inclined to doubt that the will was revised on the same day of the month (the 25th) as the day on which it was originally drawn. But coincidences of this kind do happen, and there is no reason why it could not have happened in this case.

Just to the left of the exordium on page 1 and under the words "T. Wm^j Shackspeare"—the *T* standing for the word "Testamentum"—there is a large flourished character (suggestive of a spinning top) of which only two commentators, Howard Staunton and J. W. Gray, make any mention. The latter transcribes it—incorrectly—as a capital *R*, the former—correctly—as a capital *R* followed by a small *r*, thus: *Rr*; but neither says a word as to its signification. After carefully considering the matter, I venture the conjecture that these old English characters are probably an abbreviation for the word "Recognoscatur" ("Be it known").⁹

It seems to be fairly generally assumed that Shakspeare must have been ill for a considerable time prior to his death, notwithstanding the fact that the exordium to his will reads: "In the name of god Amen I Willim[̃] Shackspeare of Stratford vpon Avon in the countie / of warr gent in *perfect* health & memorie god be prayed Doe make & Ordayne this / my last will & testam^t in manner & forme followeing." Lawyers know that when an attorney writes words to this effect in a client's will everybody takes it for granted that the words are purely conventional, have not been dictated by the testator, and have only the technical meaning that the testator had testamentary capacity, was of a sufficiently sound mind

⁹ This *Rr* flourish aids us in the exposure of at least one Shakspeare forgery. In 1907 a Brighton bookseller, Mr. W. J. Smith, offered for sale a copy of the first edition of Raleigh's *Historie of the World* whose first page contained what the dealer's catalogue described in the following words: "One of the three [*sic*] existing Autograph Signatures of Shakspeare; once exhibited at Windsor Castle by request of Her Majesty Queen Victoria." This "autograph," a distorted reproduction of the signature on the third page of the will, really reads "Willin Shatspurly 1615" and has this fancifully flourished *R* under it.

to be able to make a will and dispose of his property. No one would think of attacking a will on the ground that the testator was suffering from a grave physical ailment at the drawing or subscribing of the document, unless the malady was of such a nature as to undermine his testamentary capacity, a disability which at all events, would have to be proved by witnesses. As Henry Swinburne in his well-known work on Wills (*A Brief Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills*, London, 1590, p. 61b), says: "The integritie of the minde, and not of the bodie, is required in the testator."

If Shakspeare was afflicted with some such malady as angina pectoris (which may last for several years and affects its victim only in recurrent attacks of varying degrees of severity), his attorney, seeing him when he was wholly free from symptoms, might very well have described him as being in perfect health and memory. We may recall that according to vicar Ward, Shakspeare, Jonson and Drayton had a "merry meeting" at which our poet "drank too hard, for he died of a feavour there contracted."¹⁰ If there ever was such a meeting, it was much more likely to be followed by an attack of angina than by a fever. A severe heart attack (on March 25th) may have been followed by a pulmonary congestion which terminated fatally after four weeks. Gossip among the poet's Puritan neighbors would naturally fasten on the merry-making as the cause of his death.

But it may, of course, and quite properly, be objected that it is not at all unusual for an invalidated testator to confess that he is "sick and weak in body" at the time his will is being made—as, for example, was done in the cases of the actors Augustine Phillipps (on May 4, 1605) and Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley (on June 3, 1623)¹¹—and that if Shakspeare was sick at the time, as the biographers say he was, he, or his attorney for him, should not have alleged he was in perfect health and thanked God for being so. Inasmuch as nothing was to be gained by a false allegation concerning the testator's physical condition, and inasmuch as we know that Francis Collins was an experienced attorney, we seem to be warranted in concluding either that the biographers have once

¹⁰ *Diary of the Rev. John Ward, A. M.*, 1839, p. 61.

¹¹ Cf. J. P. Collier's *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare*, London, 1846, pp. 85, 239.

again erred in their interpretation of the evidence and that Shakspeare was or thought himself in good health when he asked his attorney to draw his will and outlined to him how he wished to dispose of his worldly goods, or that Collins was using the words in the technical sense of "having testamentary capacity." That was on or shortly before January 25th, 1616.

Two months later things were different. Shakspeare was very sick and was thought to be on his death-bed. Francis Collins was hastily summoned to New Place to make certain changes in the invalid's will and to attend to the formalities of its execution and publication. Several neighbors were sent for to come and act as witnesses. Owing to the recent marriage of his younger daughter, Judith, and perhaps also because of the illness of his brother-in-law, Joan Hart's husband, the testator was no longer content with the will's provisions concerning them; it was therefore necessary to alter that part of the testament relating to them and to correct the rest of it so as to conform with these changes. As it happened, the bequests to Judith and to Joan covered all but the first eight lines of the first page. After he had made the desired alterations, Collins, realizing that there was not time enough for making a fair copy of the revised document,¹² handed the first page over to his clerk to make a clean copy of it.¹³ When this was done, Collins read it over and drew the scrivener's attention to some rather obvious errors which had to be corrected. The word "Januarij" was crossed out and "Mrtij" written above it; the important phrase "in discharge of her Marriage porcoñ" and the words "the stock" (*i. e.*, the principal) and "the house" were inserted where they had been inadvertently omitted. The merely preliminary matter,

¹² Halliwell-Phillipps, Sidney Lee, and probably all other biographers and commentators, except Professor Adams, regard the document that Collins brought to Shakspeare for his signature as having been only a "corrected draft," not a revised and fair copy. But the assumption of this "rough draft" theory, so stressed by Sir Edward M. Thompson in his discussion of Shakspeare's signatures (*Shakespeare's Hand in "Sir Thomas More,"* 1925, p. 64), is not only unnecessary but not warranted by a due consideration of the facts. *Cf.* footnote 17.

¹³ In many wills of the period we find evidence that the clerk or "servant" of the notary acted not only as the scrivener but also as a witness. *Cf.* J. P. Collier, *op. cit.*

the first eight lines, Collins probably did not trouble to read; he let the original statement about the testator's health stand, or he may have regarded it merely in its legal significance. This being done, other corrections were made in pages 2 and 3. The witnesses having arrived, Shakspeare "published" his will; i. e., told them this was his will and requested them to witness it as such.¹⁴ In all probability he subscribed the will before his witnesses arrived. Collins, we may conjecture from the appearance of his signature, had either affixed his name to the will when it was originally completed¹⁵ or used a different pen from the others.

What evidence, the reader may ask, is there that Shakspeare was seriously ill when he subscribed his will? The answer usually given to this question embodies three counts: first, that the will subscribed by the testator and his witnesses was evidently a hastily drawn or revised document and was made to serve as the formal will because it was thought there was no time for the engrossing of a new or fair copy; second, the handwriting of the testator was so poor, so shaky, so unlike his other signatures and so utterly unlike the writing of a cultured penman, that he must be assumed to have been suffering from some physical condition that distorted his penmanship; and, third, that he died four weeks later.

All this is so eminently simple and in accord with general experience—and, after all, a matter of no consequence—that it would seem impossible to question it. But, for all that, it has not met with general acceptance. Thus, for example, Sir George Greenwood, the resourceful and watchful "anti-Stratfordian," insists (*The Shakespeare Signatures*, pp. 48 ff.) that there was no need for a fair copy, that the will as we have it was a "very carefully prepared and well-written draft," that having a fair copy made would have entailed expense, that there is no direct evidence that the testator was suffering from "illness of a desperate character," that the theory that William Shakspeare was so sorely stricken as to be

¹⁴ Mr. W. C. Hazlitt (*Shakespear*, 1902, p. 53) is in error when he casts doubt on the meaning of the word "publish" in this will by saying, incorrectly, that "a will is at present understood to be published only when it has been proved."

¹⁵ It is customary even to-day for the lawyer who draws the will to act as a witness because he is in an excellent position to testify as to the testator's testamentary capacity when the will is submitted for probate.

in extremis at the will's publication is only a convenient hypothesis for those who wish us to believe that Shakspeare must, at other times, have been able to write very much better than he did when he signed his will," and, finally, that "the testator had a whole month in which to get 'a fair engrossment' made if he had thought one desirable."

Even if we concede—which we do not—that there was no need for a fair copy, *i. e.*, one without corrections, erasures and interlineations, it must be granted that it is—and was—customary to have one.¹⁶ Only under exceptional circumstances nowadays is such a mutilated and slovenly looking document made to do duty for the final will. The question of expense is utterly irrelevant; the testator could easily afford having a fair copy engrossed; and the attorney's fees—we all know—include the drawing of a fair copy as a matter of course. Besides, the will expressly bequeathes "to ffrauncis Collins . . . thirteene poundes Sixe shillinges & Eight pence to be paied w^{thin} one Yeare," and this may be assumed to have included the cost of a fair copy, especially as the cost of writing a three-page document is negligible. And, furthermore, Collins would in all probability have had a fair or engrossed copy made for a well-to-do client as a matter of good business, the more so if—as in this case—the client was also an old friend. That he was friends with the poet is reasonably deducible from the fact that he was willing to jeopardize the bequest to himself by acting as a witness. He evidently thought it "a dignitie to be a witness."

It must also be granted that the chief item of evidence that the testator was suffering from "illness of a desperate character" at the signing of his will is the fact that he died four weeks later. But, of course, a person in perfect health may have his will drawn. That a man has his will drawn in January, two months later signs a hastily revised will¹⁷—with all its imperfections on its head—

¹⁶ Whether the will signed by Shakspeare in March was a rough draft or a fair copy could be easily enough determined if we could compare it with other wills drawn by Francis Collins. If Shakspeare's is the only one of Collins' wills not properly paragraphed, punctuated, etc., it was only a draft.

¹⁷ Our reasons for thinking that the three-page document Collins brought with him on March 25th was a fair copy, not a rough draft, are these: (1) the interlineations look as if they had all been made with the pen and

in a handwriting which shows signs of what for the nonce we shall designate as "weakness" and differs considerably from his signatures written three or four years before, and dies in April—does not *prove* that he was sick; but common sense says that the assumption that the testator was seriously ill when he subscribed his will is in accordance with common human experience and that in the absence of evidence to the contrary it may be considered well grounded.

But, says Sir George, Shakspeare "had a whole month in which to get a fair engrossment made if he had thought one desirable." True, quite true; but how was Shakspeare or his attorney—or even his physician—to know that the testator would live another month? And surely no one would expect the testator to go through the ordeal of subscribing his will a second time, at a later day, merely for the sake of leaving an engrossed copy behind him. A lawyer would surely not jeopardize the testator's intentions by delaying the execution of the document for such a trivial purpose as the engrossing of a fair copy. He knows that the testator's physical condition may change suddenly or gradually to such an extent that he will not be able to subscribe his will or that some of the legatees will find an excuse for contesting the will on the ground of testamentary incapacity.

There is one phrase in this will that is so unusual that it comes very near to proving that Shakspeare was so "sorely stricken" on the 25th day of March that he was not expected to recover. It occurs—and this is significant—on the first (and revised) page of the will in connection with a bequest to Judith. One hundred and fifty pounds are to be paid her "if shee or Anie issue of her

ink with which the witnesses wrote their names; (2) a conscientious and experienced lawyer like Collins, enjoying the confidence and patronage of such wealthy and influential men as John and Thomas Combe, would not be likely to delay having a fair copy of a well-to-do client's and friend's will ready within a few days after being consulted about it and would not delay its execution for any but the best of reasons; *e. g.*, the request of the testator. Shakspeare may have postponed the subscription of the will so as to give himself the opportunity to see what kind of a husband Thomas Quiney would make. That his son-in-law was prominently in his mind while the will was being revised is proved by the erased words "sonne in L[aw]" on line 9 of page 1.

bodie be Lyvinge att thend of three Yeares next ensueing *the Daie of the Date of this my Will.*" In this provision the words here printed in italics permit the inference that to the testator and his attorney his death was imminent. In a court of law the words would in all likelihood be interpreted as meaning the day on which the will becomes effective; *i. e.*, the testator's death. To common sense this is a fairly reliable indication that the will was revised into its present form when death was thought to be imminent and that the subscription of the will was hurried.

Mr. Greenwood, accepting the view of those commentators who regard the will as a hastily signed rough draft, emphatically asserts that a fair copy of a will in Shakspeare's time was unnecessary inasmuch as "a will in those days was not even required to be signed at all."¹⁸ With an air of authority he says, not quite accurately: "No particular form was required for a will. Thus notes or memoranda written from the testator's mouth by a physician or scrivener were good if afterwards executed. . . . Wills of land were required to be in writing, but it was sufficient if the will was put in writing by the testator, or another with his privity and direction, *without any other execution.*"¹⁹ Elsewhere in the same book (p. 61) he says it would have been "quite a natural thing" for the lawyer or the scrivener to write the words *By me William* ("leaving the testator to fill in the surname") inasmuch as there was in 1616 "no actual legal necessity that a will should be signed at all." All this is such a misleading and incorrect statement of the law and the practice relating to the execution of wills, so likely to deceive the unwary and the uninformed, that we must not grudge the time and space required to set the matter right.

Shakspeare's will devised real estate, not merely personal property. This document must not, therefore, be judged merely by the law of wills relating to personal property. From Swinburne's work on wills, one of the most popular and authoritative works on the subject for almost two hundred years after it was written, we learn (p. 189^b) that a will devising land had to be in writing. And

¹⁸ *The Shakspeare Signatures*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁹ The words I have put in italics embody an inexcusable error in a lawyer. It was the "execution" of a will—the fulfilment of certain legal requirements—that made it a valid will.

from the same high authority (p. 191^b) we learn that witnesses to a will could be dispensed with only if the testator's signature or intentions could be established in other ways; nay, more: that witnesses to the handwriting of the signatory (*i. e.*, the testator) were especially necessary if the will was a rough draft. Shakspeare's will, owing to its many alterations, erasures, interlineations, absence of pagination, etc., might have been attacked on the ground that it was only a rough draft, and such a claim might have had credence in a court of law. Obviously the best way to establish the true character of this document and the testator's signature was by means of witnesses.

The signature of the testator, says Swinburne (p. 189^b) could be dispensed with *if the will could otherwise be proved by witnesses*. This being so, it would have been absurd for the lawyer or scrivener to write half of the testator's signature and let the testator add the surname. With the aid of witnesses no signature was necessary; without witnesses the signature or half signature was of no value.

Swinburne (p. 190) is also our authority for saying that unless the will was properly prepared, *i. e.*, unless the separate paragraphs were lettered or clearly marked, the presumption would be that the document was only a rough draft and not a will, even though it was signed by the testator and was in his handwriting, if there were no witnesses. A will devising land was such a formal document that the testator imperilled the carrying out of his intentions if he did not have a fair copy of his will made and properly executed. Shakspeare's revised will may not have been deemed a fair copy; its paragraphs were not marked off from one another by either spaces, letters or numerals; its pages were not numbered, and, except for the period at the end, there is not a punctuation mark anywhere in its three long folio pages. As it stands now, the will is one long paragraph. But for the signatures of several witnesses, Shakspeare's will was in peril of being regarded merely as memoranda for a will and being refused probate. That, notwithstanding these dangers, Collins used the crude-looking document before him for the final will proves that either he was habitually slovenly or that he thought himself confronted by an emergency which justified him in acting as he did. He was careful, however, to take precautions which would ensure the validity of the will. What these precautions were we shall soon see.

Inasmuch as Shakspeare was, it may be assumed, a sick man when his will was subscribed, and inasmuch as it might have been anticipated that his daughter Judith and her husband might not only contest the will but might disturb the poet's peace and quiet during his remaining hours, or, as it proved, weeks, and for other reasons too, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the provisions of the will were not known to the witnesses. According to the law, it was not necessary for them to know its contents. But, says Swinburne (p. 22^b), if the witnesses do not know the contents of the will they must sign it.

It is not at all impossible, but rather highly probable, that Shakspeare did not even sign the will in the presence of all his witnesses and that was why the clerk did not employ the rather common phrase "in the presence of" after the words "I have herevnto put my hand" and why the attestation reads simply "Witnes to the publishing hereof." Concurrent signing was no more necessary then than now.

In studying this will it is also important to note that two of the witnesses, Francis Collins and Hamnet Sadler, were legatees, the former for the large sum of twenty Nobles and the latter for "xxvj^s viij^d to buy him a Ringe." There was, of course, no law (and there is not now) against a legatee being a witness, but his testimony voids the bequest or devise to himself. As Swinburne puts it (*op. cit.*, p. 187^b): "I suppose the testimony of the legatary to be good for the rest of the will, but not for his own legacy."

This brings us to a matter which has long puzzled the commentators. Why, they asked, was Shakspeare's will signed by five witnesses when "the law of God," as Swinburne says (*op. cit.*, p. 17^b), "requireth no more than two or three witnesses," and when the general custom of the country at the time required no more than two, "so they be free from any iust cause of exception"?

Halliwell-Phillipps (*Outlines*, 10th edition, I, 253) answered the question as follows: "An unusual number of witnesses were called in to secure the validity of the informally written document, its draftsman, according to the almost invariable custom at the time, being the first to sign." Of course in the case we are now considering, the draftsman being a legatee, the "almost invariable custom" would probably have been departed from, even though his testimony might have outweighed that of all the other witnesses

in establishing the testator's intentions, had there not been adequate means of proving the will without his help.

But this explanation has apparently not proved wholly satisfactory, for we find two eminently painstaking scholars, Professor Adams (*A Life of William Shakespeare*, 1923, pp. 461-69) and Mr. Howard Staunton (*op. cit.*), offering different solutions for this problem and others arising from it. The former believes that the poet's will was drawn, subscribed, and signed by two witnesses (Collins and Shaw) in January of 1615 or of 1616; that subsequently, on March 25th, 1616, owing to Judith's marriage, the first sheet was destroyed and a new one written (by Collins) to take its place, three neighbors (including one old friend) being hastily summoned to act as witnesses.

But this very ingenious explanation will not bear scrutiny. It assumes, incorrectly, that Shakspeare's signature on the third page of his will is written "in a clear bold hand" and shows no evidence of tremor or deterioration; it assumes, improbably, that Francis Collins himself wrote the will and retained the original description of the testator's physical condition because he (Collins) was "in an agitated frame of mind and working under unfavorable conditions"; and it fails to take cognizance of the fact, clearly shown in a photograph of the will, that the signatures of the four witnesses other than Collins were written with the same ink and with the same pen. And, furthermore, it is incredible that Collins would have imperilled the bequest to himself and the will as a whole by having the will witnessed only by himself (a friend and a legatee) and Julius Shaw (also an intimate friend of the family).

Mr. Staunton's theory is that in January, 1616, Shakspeare subscribed his will with only one signature, that on page 3; that because of Judith's marriage the will was revised, page 1 being subsequently wholly re-written and pages 1 and 2 being subscribed by the poet when the will was re-published in March. There are several fatal objections to this theory: the signature on the third sheet is not "the ordinary autograph of the poet when in health;" Mr. Staunton gives no proof for his assertion that the ink of the signatures on pages 1 and 2 differs from that of the final signature; and it is unbelievable, in view of the fact that page 1 devises real property, that Francis Collins would not have called in new or additional witnesses to subscribe the revised will.

The explanation for the unusual number of witnesses is, in reality, very simple. Knowing that "the law of God" and the custom of the realm required not less than two witnesses but that prudence dictated that he should have at least three witnesses (inasmuch as the revised will might be regarded as being only a rough draft, the testator was dying, the contents of the will were not to be announced), and that he and Hamnet Sadler (who was probably present as a friend of the family) were legatees under the will, Collins wisely sent out a messenger to bring in two or three other witnesses, telling him or her on whom to call. And it is surely permissible to venture the guess that the messenger found more "witnesses" at home and ready to be of service to their distinguished neighbor than Mr. Collins anticipated. That it was a frequent practice to have a large number of witnesses under unusual circumstances is reasonably indicated by the nine witnesses to the will of the previously mentioned "Nicholas Wilkinson, als. Tooley."

Another reason for the unusual number of witnesses is to be found in the fact that at least two, and probably three of the witnesses, were friends of the family and of some of the legatees. Swinburne (*op. cit.*, p. 186) takes cognizance of such a state of facts and says that where there is "the exception of friendship . . . there the number dooth supplie the defect."²⁰

Why, it might be asked, did Shakspeare sign each of the three pages of which his will is made up? In all probability the answer is that with certain lawyers and in certain communities it was customary to sign each page of a will. It served to link the pages together, to prevent substitution of pages, especially if the subscription or the handwriting could be proved by witnesses. In the case of Nicholas Tooley (*q. v.*) the will, with its nine witnesses, expressly mentions the number of sheets entering into the will and the fact of each page being signed. A will was an important document, and an experienced lawyer would be sure, if the circumstances permitted, to do his utmost to make it effective. Not only was it deemed advisable for the testator to sign each page but Swinburne (*op. cit.*, p. 19^a) actually recommends that the witnesses shall sign every page of it "as a good and safe course whereby many forgeries might be prevented or more easilie de-

²⁰ For information concerning these witnesses cf. Lee's *A Life of William Shakespeare*, 1916, pp. 482-83.

tected." Shakspeare's three will-signatures were therefore in accord with the best practice of his day.

It may be recalled that Shakspeare's will originally called for his seal, without his signature, and that the word "Seale" was struck out and "hand" ²¹ written above it. Collins probably ordered the change to be made when he saw that the testator was not too sick to sit up and subscribe the document. He may also have thought that under the circumstances the testator's signature might be more desirable from a legal viewpoint. From Swinburne (*op. cit.*, p. 192) we know that a will had to be sealed if it was not signed by the testator, or was not in his handwriting, or could not be proved to have been drawn at his command.

That this will had been "very carefully prepared" is one of those astonishing statements that prove that occasionally even so acute a controversialist as Sir George may nod. A will that contains as many alterations and erasures, resulting in hopeless obscurities, that (as I shall show) omits important words, uses words in unusual senses, omits to number the pages, fails to specify the number of pages of which it consists, leaves large empty spaces, omits all punctuation marks,²² bequeathes the same property to two different legatees, etc., cannot be said to have been "very" carefully prepared, or even carefully prepared.

A question in connection with Shakspeare's will which has sorely troubled some writers relates to the order in which the poet's signa-

²¹ Mr. Staunton (*op. cit.*) has suggested that the word "hand" may have been written by Shakspeare himself, but careful analysis of the penmanship shows it was written by the scrivener who wrote the rest of the document. Mr. Staunton is also in error when he says that the five words ("Witnes to the publishing hereof") preceding the signature of Francis Collins were "no doubt" written by Collins himself.

²² The punctuation and paragraphing found in the printed transcripts of Shakspeare's will in books dealing with the poet are wholly without warrant and no more justifiable than the modernized spelling, punctuation and capitalization found in the modern transcripts of other Elizabethan manuscripts; e. g., Dr. Greg's transcription of *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*, Mr. Gray's transcript of the Shakspeare marriage-bond, Mr. E. K. Chambers' transcripts of the forged Revels Accounts of 1604-5 and 1611-12, Professor F. S. Boas' transcript of *The Lanchinge of the Mary* (Egerton MS. 1994), and so forth. The most nearly faithful transcript of the will known to me is to be found in James Walter's *Shakespeare's True Life*, 1890, pp. 389-91, and in Staunton's *Memorials of Shakespeare*.

tures on pages 1, 2 and 3 were written. Probably, most of them say, following Malone's suggestion (*cf.* Halliwell-Phillipps, *Which Shall It Be?* Brighton, 1879, p. 13), the one on the third page ("T3"), that being the most important one, was written first, then the one on the second page ("T2") and lastly the one on the first page ("T1"). This order is supposed to correspond to the calligraphic qualities of the signatures: "T3" being the best of the three and "T1" the worst.

Mr. Greenwood, as might be expected, vigorously dissents. He says (*The Shakspeare Signatures*, p. 52) that the "ordinary and natural practice" nowadays is for a testator to sign the separate pages of a will in the order in which he reads them or has them read to him; *i. e.*, page one first, page two second, and so forth.

Even if, for the sake of argument, this were conceded, it would not follow that that was the ancient practice or the practice followed in the particular case before us. The point being so utterly inconsequential, it seems to be doing violence to common sense to think that the reading of a will would be interrupted to enable the testator to sign one page before going on with the reading of the next page, especially if the testator is very sick and, as in this case, the signing of the first two pages was really unnecessary. In modern practice, at any rate in the United States, where the sheets of the will are fastened together before they are submitted to the testator for his signatures, and when he is well enough to sign each page without any undue effort, it is the custom to sign the last page first, that signature being the most important, and then to initial the other pages in rotation. But where the pages have not been fastened together, they are signed in the order in which they happen to be lying on the table.

The assumption that the signature on the third page, preceded by the words *By me*, was written first seems to be warranted by the following considerations: It is the most important one, the only one that could affect the validity of the document as a whole, the one that common sense would dictate should be written first, is preceded by the formal phrase "By me" and spelled out in full, and is written with the largest degree of firmness, control and precision. The somewhat abbreviated signature on the second page, being evidently the slowest and most deliberate, may have been written last.

It does not seem to have occurred to more than two of my predecessors, Staunton and Adams, to investigate whether the original version of the will, based upon a rough draft, or the revised version of it was signed by the testator, nor when (if ever) the revisions were made. If the ink in which the interlineations and additions (bequests to his wife, Heminge, Condell, Burbage) are made differs from that of the rest of the document, the present form of the will is a revision. If these additions are in the same ink in which the witnesses' and the testator's names are written, the revision was done at the time of the signing of the document. Ordinary facsimiles are of no value for such a study.²³

That the will as we have it is a revised version and that the first page was wholly re-written seem to follow beyond a reasonable doubt from the following considerations:

The first page contains only very few corrections and interlineations, and these, with the exception of one phrase (and the insertion of certain words—"the house" and "the stock"—which could have been omitted only inadvertently), are of no consequence.

The regnal year is correctly stated to be the fourteenth, though according to the original date (January 25th) it should have been called the thirteenth year of the reign of King James, a correction which would indicate that the scrivener was automatically copying the heading of the original draft.

The interlineation of the significant words "in discharge of her Marriage porcoñ" would indicate that this page was written after February 10th, 1616, the date of Judith's unfortunate marriage to Thomas Quiney, and while the recently wedded couple were being

²³ A fairly good facsimile of the poet's will was published in vol. 24 of the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Weimar, 1889. In 1864 Mr. J. H. Friswell published a photographic reproduction of the will which was said to be so fine that not the best microscopist could discover the slightest difference between it and the original, but this is practically inaccessible to the general reader. Mr. Greenwood informs us that the Friswell photograph "shows very clearly how carefully the draft had been prepared, notwithstanding [!] the interlineations." Some of Sir George's readers may need to be told that a photograph of any document can show only how it was written; i. e., whether it had been "carefully prepared" as to its appearance, but not as to its contents. Facsimiles of Shakspeare's will may also be found in Mr. Yeatman's pamphlet (*op. cit.*), in *The Autographic Mirror* and in Mr. Staunton's *Memorials*.

threatened with excommunication by the Bishop's Consistory Court at Worcester for having been married during Lent without first obtaining a license therefor. That Shakspeare had his new son-in-law (whom he gave only a conditional bequest) in mind is indicated by the words "sonne in L[aw]"²⁴ (crossed out) in the ninth line of the first page.

But the most convincing proof that page 1 is not the original draft is to be found in the fact that near the top of page 2, just after the bequest to the three Hart boys, are three erased lines—"to be sett out for her wthin one Yeare after my Deceas by my executors / wth thaduise & Direccoñs of my overseers for her best profit vntill her- / Marriage & then the same wth the increase thereof to be paied vnto / her"—lines which, of course, do not relate to the bequest to the boys. Nor can they possibly relate to the provision at the foot of the first page which defines the devise of "the house wth thapp'tennnces in Stratford" to Mrs. Joan Hart. It is evident, therefore, that the bottom of the original first page and the top of the second page dealt with a bequest to Judith prior to her marriage (*cf.* the words "vntill her Marriage" in the erased matter) and that the will was originally drawn prior to February 10th. A grievous change in the father's attitude to his daughter between the first drafting of the will in January and the following March seems to be clearly indicated by the fact that in the earlier version Judith was bequeathed all his "Plate." Near the top of page 2 we read: "Itm I gyve & bequeath vnto her All my Plate that I now / have att the Date of this my will." But this was altered by striking out the word "her" and substituting, in an interlineation, the words: "the saied Elizabeth Hall," and inserting the parenthetical phrase "(except my brod silver & gilt bole)" after the word "Plate."

A study of recent photographs of the will seems to warrant the conclusion that the interlineations were all made with the same pen and ink with which the will was subscribed. It would follow, therefore, that the will was revised and corrected on that eventful March 25th, 1616.

²⁴ It is almost incredible, but none the less a fact, that with but very few exceptions, almost every previous commentator or biographer read these words as "sonne and," though there is no difficulty in deciphering them.

We are therefore warranted in assuming that what happened was this: In January Shakspeare instructed his attorney concerning the provisions of his will; two weeks later his younger daughter, then thirty-two years old, married somewhat irregularly and brought upon herself the risk of excommunication (a penalty which was actually inflicted shortly after her father's death); in all probability mainly because of this marriage the poet decided to revise his will; part of the original first page was copied as it was, and the rest, dealing almost solely with Judith, was altered to meet the new conditions and the testator's state of mind at that time; the second page of the will was permitted to remain as it was after the original lines relating to Judith had been erased and two new lines inserted at the very top to connect with the bottom line of the revised version of the first page. Further confirmation of this hypothesis seems to be the fact that the writing at the bottom of page 1 is much smaller and closer and more crowded than on pages 2 and 3. Whereas the scrivener had averaged nine lines of writing to three inches on pages 2 and 3, at the bottom of page 1 he wrote twelve lines to three inches, and he made his letters and connecting strokes so much smaller that he averaged sixteen words to a line (instead of twelve). The matter is so crowded as to indicate clearly that the scrivener knew he had to get a good deal more on the page than would go there if he wrote in his usual hand.

That this will was not a "very" carefully drawn document and that haste played an important rôle in its preparation are strikingly borne out by a study of the bequests to Judith, as might have been expected if our theory of this document is correct. The first bequest to her provides that within one year of the testator's decease she shall have £100. "in discharge of her Marriage porcon" and £50. more on giving her sister Susanna Hall a certain release. Then the will goes on to provide that she shall be paid another £150. if she or any issue of her body be alive three years after the date of the will. During these three years she or her issue were to receive interest at the then legal rate of 10%. If she died without issue before the expiration of the specified period, this bequest was to be disposed of as follows: £100. to Elizabeth Hall and £50. to Joan Hart and her children.

"But/," continues the will,—in a long and complicated provision which almost all commentators have fought shy of—"if my saied

Daughter Judith be lyving att thend of the saied three Yeares or / anie yssue of her bodye . . . the / saied Hundred & ffyftie poundes to be sett out *by my executors & overseers* for the best benefitt of her & her / issue & *the stock* not to be paied vnto her soe long as she shalbe marryed & Covert Baron / [by my executo^{rs} & overseers] but my will ys that she shall have the consideracon / yearelie paied vnto her during her lief & after her deceas the saied stock and / consideracon to be paied to her children if she have Anie & if not to her / executo^{rs} or assignes she lyving the saied terme after my deceas Provided that if / such husbond as she shall att thend of the saied three Yeares be marryed vnto or attanie / after Doe sufficientlie Assure vnto her & thissue of her bodie landes Awnswereable to / the porcon by this my will gyven vnto her & to be adiudged soe by my executo^{rs} or / & overseers then my will ys that the said Cl¹¹ shalbe paid to such husbond as / shall make such assurance to his owne vse ”.

One need not do more than to familiarize himself with the above quoted bequest to note a number of very serious ambiguities and obscurities, such as an experienced lawyer like Francis Collins would not have been guilty of in ordinary circumstances.

It seems to be fairly clear that the testator's original intention on that March 25th was to let Judith have the second £150. after the expiration of three years. This appears from the fact that the will expressly provides that she is to be paid interest at the legal rate in the interim. But even while the scrivener was penning the bequest, Shakspeare changed his mind and decided that his daughter was not to have the principal (“the stock”) at any time, probably because according to the law of the day her money would be the property of her husband. Notwithstanding this change of intention, the original wording was not erased, even though according to the amended bequest his executors were not to invest the money until after the expiration of three years, and she might consequently be deprived of interest during that period—clearly an absurd arrangement—unless we make the violent assumption that the money was already tied up in an investment which would terminate three years after the poet's death.²⁵ It is also apparent that in the bequest

²⁵ Sir Sidney Lee (*op. cit.*, p. 488) is clearly wrong in saying that according to this will £150. was “to be paid to her if alive three years after

quoted above three years after the date of the will is treated as being coincident or synonymous with three years "after my decease." Though in such a case the courts would probably rule that the testator meant three years after his decease, a careful lawyer would not ordinarily have allowed such conflicting designations to stand. The matter might have proved a source of expensive litigation. It is not inconceivable that Judith's husband might have been able to claim the £150. three years after the will was subscribed, but, owing to a sudden reverse of fortune, *e. g.*, by fire or loss in business, not three years after the poet's death.

The language of this bequest is very vague. Unless the word "Provided" is given the unusual meaning of "and it is furthermore provided," the bequest cannot be interpreted at all.

The interpretation of the ambiguous word "Answerable" might be the decisive factor in determining whether Judith's husband would ever get the £150. thus conditionally bequeathed him. If the word means "equivalent to," he would have to be the owner or lessee of lands worth the equivalent of the "porcon" left to Judith; if it means "appropriate to" or "commensurate with," the executors

the date of the will." Professor Adams makes the same mistake. The Rev. T. A. Gurney recently made the erroneous statement (in *The Contemporary Review* for December 1925) that this £150. was to be paid to Elizabeth Hall if she survived the testator by three years. Frederick G. Fleay mistakenly says (*A Chronicle History*, 1886, p. 71) that "Judith's marriage portion was to have been £100. on condition of her husband's settling on her £150. in land." Hamilton W. Mabie went even wider of the mark when he said (*William Shakespeare*, 1901, p. 398) that the poet left Judith "a small property on Chapel Lane and money to an amount equal to about eight thousand dollars in current values, and certain pieces of plate." George Brandes (*William Shakespeare*, 1898, II, 408) erroneously says: "Judith receives £150. ready money and £150. more after the lapse of three years, under certain conditions." Dr. Karl Elze, who predicted (*William Shakespeare*, 1888, p. 509) that the will would probably "ever remain an insolvable enigma," also misinterpreted the bequest to Judith. And Mr. Frank Harris's lecherous, extravagant, and snobbish Shakespeare—a Shakespeare that no more corresponds to the Shakespeare of history than Harris's statement (*The Man Shakespeare*, 1909, p. 377) of the bequest to Judith corresponds to the truth—leaves to his younger daughter "the tenement in Chapel Lane, £150. in money, and another £150. to be paid if she was alive three years after the date of the will." No tenement was devised to Judith, and she was under no circumstances to get the second £150.

might give him the £150., even though he owned or leased lands worth very much less than that.

The latter part of this bequest provides that any time after three years the principal is to be paid to Judith's husband if he can satisfy the poet's executors that he can "assure" to Judith and her children lands of the value of "the porcon gyven vnto her" by the will. But the will does not specify definitely how much these lands had to be worth. Did the testator mean £300., the aggregate of the sums bequeathed to her or only £150., the amount of the second bequest? or only £100., the amount of her marriage "porcon"? And inasmuch as the will also provides that Judith and her children are to be paid interest (at the rate of 10% per annum), the question might very well arise whether this was to be included when the time came to determine how much land Judith's husband had to "assure" in order that he might be entitled to the £150. Ten years after the poet's death Judith's husband might have to "assure" property worth twice the amount of money bequeathed her by the will. That the determination of these matters would or might be of great moment and might involve much litigation is obvious. And it is not impossible that the ambiguity might even void the bequest as a whole, to the great endamagement of Judith, her children and her husband.²⁶

Besides, what is the meaning of the provisional bequest to Judith's husband? Does it mean that he must own lands worth the amount of Judith's "porcon" (whatever that may be decided to be) or lands producing an income equal to Judith's income from her "porcon"? He might conceivably own lands worth more and producing less or worth less and producing more.

It will also be noted that the will provides that Judith's husband must "Assure" these lands unto her and the issue of her body, without saying a word concerning the nature of this assurance, and subsequently requires him to make "such assurance to his own use," a hopelessly muddled bequest. If it be contended that the words "to his owne use" apply to the £150. which are to be paid him, the evident reply is that the will had previously provided that

²⁶ In view of the fact that Thomas Quiney, vintner, lived and carried on his modest business (from 1616 to 1652) in a small house which he leased from the Corporation of Stratford, we may rest assured that he and his wife never got this money. For an account of him cf. S. Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 504.

the interest was to be paid to Judith annually as long as she lived. If the testator meant that Judith's husband was to settle on her and her children an estate in land equivalent in value to her "porcon," as Halliwell-Phillipps (*Outlines*, I, 254) thinks, that intention is certainly not made clear in this bequest. That Collins himself was perplexed by this provision may be inferred from his requiring Judith's husband "sufficiencie" to assure unto her the aforesaid lands. No wonder that Halliwell-Phillipps marked the word "sufficiencie" as an "erroneous reading."

Evidence of carelessness or haste is also to be found in the fact that the poet's "Plate" bequeathed to his grand-daughter Elizabeth in the amended version of page 2 is bequeathed to his son-in-law on page 3.

Taking it all in all, this will leaves very little room for doubt that Shakspeare's last days were clouded with grief over his younger daughter's marriage to a man of whom he did not approve, a ne'er-do-well who subsequently justified his father-in-law's disapproval by going off to London, leaving his family behind him and becoming dependent on his brother for bare support. The stipulations concerning that £150. manifest a great concern on the part of the poet for the welfare of his daughter and his grandchildren, although it is not impossible that Thomas Quiney might have prospered had he had the use of that money. But, of course, Shakspeare's course with regard to Thomas may have been determined by facts concerning which no data have come down to us. That the marriage and the excommunication (or threatened excommunication) may have hastened his death is not impossible. As we have seen, concern, solicitude, haste and death are written across the face of the will in language that is hardly mistakable.²⁷ How these affected the penmanship of his signatures—a problem to which this analysis of the will is an introduction—we shall see in another study.

New York City.

²⁷ When we consider the perversity which impels "Baconians" and other "anti-Stratfordians" so to distort the plain meaning of the provisions of this will as to portray Shakspeare as "a mean, paltry, small-minded, vindictive, and ungenerous snob," we realize why these deluded mortals ignore the bequest of £10. "vnto the Poore of Stratford"—a bequest which precedes those to his friends and "fellowes"—and say nothing about his generous provision for his sister Joan.

SPENSER'S USE OF THE ST. GEORGE LEGEND

By F. M. PADELFORD AND MATTHEW O'CONNOR

In medieval poetry and romance two characters stand out as par excellence the knights of holiness, Gareth and St. George. For Spenser's purposes, however, St. George was the more natural choice for the hero of his first book, as this patron saint of the nation would serve equally the purpose of the spiritual and of the political allegory. Spenser fell heir to a well-defined St. George tradition, and its influence is manifest in what may be called the envelopment of Book One.

Although there was an English version of the life of St. George as early as Aelfric's ninth-century *Lives of the Saints*, the later English versions in which the Perseus myth was blended with the traditional saint's life were modeled upon the *Legenda Aurea*, composed between 1260 and 1270 by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa. It was a translation of this popular work which Caxton issued in 1487 as *The Golden Legend*, working with his eye upon a French translation of 1380 and an English translation of 1438. Almost certainly Spenser would have been familiar with *The Golden Legend*, of which thirty copies are even now extant.

In this popular work, the story of St. George and the Dragon reads as follows:

S. George was a knight and born in Cappadocia. On a time he came in to the province of Libya, to a city which is said Silene. And by this city was a stagne or a pond like a sea, wherein was a dragon which envenomed all the country. And on a time the people were assembled for to slay him, and when they saw him they fled. And when he came nigh the city he venomed the people with his breath, and therefore the people of the city gave to him every day two sheep for to feed him, because he should do no harm to the people, and when the sheep failed there was taken a man and a sheep. Then was an ordinance made in the town that there should be taken the children and young people of them of the town by lot, and every each one as it fell, were he gentle or poor, should be delivered when the lot fell on him or her. So it happed that many of them of the town were then delivered, insomuch that the lot fell upon the king's daughter, whereof the king was sorry, and said unto the people: For the love of the gods take gold and silver and all that I have, and let me have my daughter. They said: How sir! ye have made and ordained the law, and our children

be now dead, and ye would do the contrary. Your daughter shall be given, or else we shall burn you and your house.

When the king saw he might no more do, he began to weep, and said to his daughter: Now shall I never see thine espousals. Then returned he to the people and demanded eight days' respite, and they granted it to him. And when the eight days were passed they came to him and said: Thou seest that the city perisheth: Then did the king do array his daughter like as she should be wedded, and embraced her, kissed her and gave her his benediction, and after, led her to the place where the dragon was.

When she was there S. George passed by, and when he saw the lady he demanded the lady what she made there and she said: Go ye your way fair young man, that ye perish not also. Then said he: Tell to me what have ye and why weep ye, and doubt ye of nothing. When she saw that he would know, she said to him how she was delivered to the dragon. Then said S. George: Fair daughter, doubt ye no thing hereof for I shall help thee in the name of Jesu Christ. She said: For God's sake, good knight, go your way, and abide not with me, for ye may not deliver me. Thus as they spake together the dragon appeared and came running to them, and S. George was upon his horse, and drew out his sword and garnished him with the sign of the cross, and rode hardily against the dragon which came towards him, and smote him with his spear and hurt him sore and threw him to the ground. And after said to the maid: Deliver to me your girdle, and bind it about the neck of the dragon and be not afeard. When she had done so the dragon followed her as it had been a meek beast and debonair. Then she led him into the city, and the people fled by mountains and valleys, and said: Alas! alas! we shall all be dead. Then S. George said to them: Ne doubt ye no thing, without more, believe ye in God, Jesu Christ, and do ye to be baptized and I shall slay the dragon. Then the king was baptized and all his people, and S. George slew the dragon and smote off his head, and commanded that he should be thrown in the fields, and they took four carts with oxen that drew him out of the city.

About 1482 Caxton printed a collection of saints' lives entitled '*A Festival*' compiled by John Mirk, a canon of the monastery of Lilleshall, in Shropshire, which used materials from the *Aurea Legenda* and the *Gesta Romanorum*. It is, in effect, a series of short narrative homilies for use on the various saints' days. So far as the legend of holiness is concerned, it contains only two details of consequence not found in *The Golden Legend*: a sheep is left with the king's daughter, and the dragon approaches St. George 'spyttyng out fure.'¹ This homily is very similar to one

¹ Cf. the version of *Mirk's Festival*, edited by Dr. Theodore Erbe, *Early English Text Society, Extra Series* 96, p. 133.

quoted by Prof. Arthur Beatty² which was employed in a Gloucestershire parish in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the two support the conclusion that such homilies must have helped to familiarize generations of Englishmen with this stock story.

The legend would also seem to have enjoyed great vogue in drama and pageantry. In an epoch when spectacles and rude plays furnished society with much of its organized amusement, the stirring prowess of England's patron saint must have been a favorite subject for dramatic display. Although none of the miracle plays of St. George have survived, Chambers found remnants of them in not less than twenty-nine of the mummers plays, and records specifically a St. George play enacted at Bassingbourne in 1577, and Warton found the record of such a play presented in 1511. As St. George's day was the Sunday before April 23, it coincided with the season of the year most congenial to pageantry.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century Barclay wrote *The Lyfe of the Glorious Martyr Saint George*, published by Pynson, without date, a work which, unfortunately, is lost. Warton is authority for the statement that Barclay translated from Mantuan. As Barclay was inspired by Mantuan to write his eclogues, and as Spenser modeled the September and October eclogues of *The Shepheardes Calender* upon Mantuan, it is reasonable to suppose that Spenser would have cast a sympathetic eye upon the Mantuan and Barclay versions of the George story.

That portion of Mantuan's poem which deals with the dragon fight reads as follows:³

There is no need to record all of his more celebrated deeds—indeed the number forbids it—, but one of memorable fame cries out and demands that it be handed down through all time.

On one occasion transferred (for military service) across the sea of Cilicia into the arid regions of torrid Libya, as he traversed the country with a legion of Thracian horsemen, under the Roman commander, Maximian, he heard that a city—called Silena by the Libyans—endured and succumbed to a shameful fate. Rumor has it that the ancient Sileni founded this city, conducted here, under

² *The St. George or Mummers Plays, Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Science*, p. 15.

³ The translation is based upon the British Museum copy, Strassburg, 1510.

the leadership of Bacchus, from the Nysaeen territory, and gave to the place a name, walls and a race. To the walls of the city was joined a fen of cheerless water, the banks extending in a wide circle: an infamous swamp, with water rising and falling in the same place, and giving forth a noxious exhalation. The death-dealing vapors were borne high into the air, vapors such as arise in the Campanian Avernus, or like to the baleful mist of Ampsanctus in the valleys of the Hirpini, coming as is thought from the depths of the lower world. A fen not less infamous than in former times the stygian pool in Egypt, hard by the walls of Memphis, and the Arcadian styx which petrifies on the bank.

Whether the work of the infernal deities, or of the celestial gods, or of nature, inimical to man, obtaining this influence from the stars, a monster of huge bulk had dragged himself forth (from this fen), and laid waste the fields, the sheepfolds and the city. A monster with a maw like a bull, a long gullet like a whale, a hollow throat like the Aetnaean cave, which is said to extend by a black yawning passage to the waters of Cocytus and the impious doors of Dis; a monster more cruel by far than the Laernaean Hydra, its black hide armed with horrid scales, able to scorn the club and bow of Hercules. When it had consumed the flocks, not able to endure the hunger in its empty belly it reared its ugly head and hissing neck onto the high walls, and exhaled its breath, a breath such as the infernal caverns are rumored to breathe through the purgatorial realms and Orcus. The deadly virus spread across the walls into the city, and, causing sudden death and unforeseen calamities to men, afflicted the citizens with bitter grief. Wherever in its movements it extended the great weight of its huge belly, the ground was embittered; the grass withered, the flowers with seared stalks wilted and fell, and the trees and green boughs, subject to the contagion, withered away; just as the Catinian countryside withers when the Aetnean crater vomits forth its fuming fires, involving in its rapid flames the groves, the fields, and the sheepfolds. Nay more, if the heavy vapor chanced to pollute any bird with its noxious breath, suddenly, as if its heart were cut off, its strength gone, with wings dropped, and, expiring with gasping throat, it fell to the ground dead.

After many deaths, after manifold disasters, at length the tribunes (of the plebeians) are summoned to the royal palace, and the

fathers hold solemn council with the supreme ruler (the king). Finally, after many things have been said on this side and on that, with the consent of the king, the plebeians, and the patricians, a law decrees that two human bodies, chosen by lot, be given to the foul monster, one at sunrise, the other at sunset, so that its deadly hunger, thus satiated, would be appeased, and it would cease to pour over the entire city the death-dealing virus of its pestilential breath. Tradition has it that once upon a time a similar fate befell the grandchildren of Cecrops, what time Theseus came into Crete with heavy oar and guided his footsteps by a cord.

The city receives the stern edict since there is no other way to secure the protection desired. The plebeians pay the penalty first and then, ascending, fate advances to the resplendent thresholds of the patricians. Every day fresh victims are bewailed, nor is there any one who does not tremble with fear, awaiting the tidings of unhappy fate. And it comes to the king who, advanced to the extreme winter of old age, has for his only child a virgin, now ripe for a husband, now fully mature for marriage. But just as is wont to happen in such a case, a grave disagreement arose between the king and the citizens. His affections urged the father not to surrender his daughter to such pillage, and he felt that royal majesty ought to be exempt. The populace, who were suffering the impious penalties and all of them sad in countenance because of the recent deaths, sternly reproached the king, and threatening many plebeians demanded that what is common to the plebeians and the patricians shall be shared by the king himself. The king, therefore, perceiving the populace to be of one mind, and recalling the saying that the plebeians do not know how to endure chains or fire to endure water, with rising tears, gave up, alas, his daughter, the solace of his old age.

Straightway lamentation arises, resounding through the royal palace, and the hard lot tortures the afflicted parents. Neither by night nor by day do they silence their complaints. They remove the tapestries from the chambers, they desert the feasts, the halls remain uncared for; all the royal household bemoans the fatal calamity.

Now the fatal day was at hand and the report thereof, spread abroad through the neighboring cities, drew many to the spectacle. George dons his coat-of-mail, seizes his spear, and attended by a

few comrades, mounts aloft on his snow-white steed—the mother of which was Thracian and the father Asturian, a gift from the Roman Emperor, which he had adorned with purple reins and gleaming gold—and with his companions draws nigh, taking up his station on a hill adjacent to the city, whence this infamous fen lies open to view.

The golden sun was succeeding the dawn, and Lucifer was still advancing, nor had he yet hidden himself in the high heavens, when the serpent, larger than the Deucalion Python, rearing his head from the black pool, ploughs through the resounding waters, and swimming, drives the waves to the shore. Straightway the lurid cloud stains the air, clear before, and Titan is consumed by the black smoke. The monster glides to the shores, and casting about its eyes, gleaming with blood-red flames, begins to look for its customary food. When it can not see it, it hisses, consumed with mighty rage, and rearing aloft its scaly back, and extending wide its greenish wings, as if about to fly, hisses again, beats the ground with its curved claw—a sign of impatience and wrath at having its food too long withheld—and with distended eyes and ears alert stands facing the portals, whence it knows that its food customarily approaches, imagines the grating of the doors and seems to expect the brazen bolts to be released from the round sockets, and expectant licks its gaping mouth with its huge tongue.

The terrified matrons, the men, and the little children stand on the high walls, breathlessly eager to see what they are unwilling to see, and gaze with heavy hearts. Meanwhile the wretched king and queen comfort the maiden, decked in royal apparel, and solemnly affirm that all the youths who must needs meet death through the decrees of the elders shall become divinities and be allotted seats among the immortals, and through future years shall be celebrated with the honor befitting gods, not only in their own country but wherever through the Libyan cities the renowned story of this so illustrious act travels, and she shall enjoy sacred rites and lasting temples and be numbered among the gods whom Rome calls *penates* and *indigetes*, such as were Numa, Romulus, and he who was swallowed up by the earth for like piety. Thus they seek to inculcate in her mind the desire for immortality. With such words they endeavor to keep back the tears from their eyes, but

natural affection opposes this effort; they inadvertently break forth into groans and tears, nor can they feign good cheer.

The entrance of the gate had been gained, but not as yet were the walls opened. Every head is forced to bow in tears; every breast is racked with sighs. They kiss her, they hold her in tight embrace, and again and again moisten her face with their caresses, but at length they reach the two-fold doors. Behold, the parents, with drenching tears, set foot upon the very threshold of the gates with their child, and then thrust forth from the doors their trembling daughter, shining in the garments of betrothal, and adorned with the braided locks. Finally the mournful attendants fasten the chains about her neck and leave her alone.

With face like a goddess, she, a virgin like to Helen, stands as Andromeda exposed to the monsters of the sea, and raising her eyes to the sky lest she behold the terrible enemy, tremblingly implores the divinities and the stars. From the distant walls she is heard to utter such laments as these, her words scarce reaching the attentive ears: 'O wretched, O wretched Alcyone—for such was her name—wherefore are the fates so cruel to you that you must needs descend into the belly of this monster? Wherefore does nothing remain to me of life, which ought to extend for many years? Wherefore does the grave come to swallow me up, alive, sound in body, and innocent? What have I deserved? Wherefore am I thus condemned? For what crime am I punished? Why am I thus hated by heaven, earth, and the lower world? Is there no one among so many gods, among so many mortals, to offer aid? Alone, defenceless, I am abandoned here to the monster. Forsooth these, these are my nuptials, so longed for by my father, these are my offspring, which my mother awaited with joy. O ye heavenly gods, as ye are mindful that once in time past ye delivered Ariadne, O ye gods of the sea, ye of the under world, if ye have eyes which can see these misfortunes, if any pity moves you, hear the laments of your Alcyone, who has ever knelt a suppliant at your altars.'

Such words did she utter, believing herself on the threshold of death. When the young women behold this spectacle from the walls, they are all seized with quaking; the presence of death more deeply affects their spirits; fright robs them, trembling, of their senses; a kindred emotion beats in every heart. The Tribune,

himself, looking on from the hill, grieves, and all the company, deeply moved, lament the calamity.

The monster had halted in astonishment, for the other bodies were exposed with bare limbs; from the chains themselves he reasoned that this was his destined booty. He advances therefore with open jaws, and sluggish because of his great bulk, moves slowly forward. Crawling like a great turtle he sweeps along the ground, and with extended wings approaches his prey.

As from a distance George, ardently compassionate, beholds the cruel abomination, the enormity befitting so great anger, he groans in spirit, and, moved with pity, signs his breast with the cross, spurs his horse, and with tight-grasped spear hastens to meet the monster. All marvel at the young man; they are amazed at a spirit so undaunted, they pray the gods to be present at these hazards. God lends his aid to the great-souled undertaking. The sword's point, thrust far down the throat, penetrates into the broad belly, and the fair knight, more courageous than the deadly monster, pierces its heart, black with death-dealing venom, the charger forced by the violence of the blow to pause a moment. Directly he is seized with flaming rage, nor does he heed the rein, but as soon as his momentary anger expends its sudden fury, he is wheeled about, and with prancing step and proud eye, and neighing frequently with his wide-spread nostrils, advances as if with his lordly spirit despising the enemy. Not less fervent is the ardor of the knight. He unsheathes his sword—sun-reflecting, flashing flames upon the walls—and fiercely returns with drawn weapon to the conflict. Another spear, thrust through the heart, the groin and the belly, enters the wound and completely buries itself in the viscera. The beast, distending itself on the broad field, bites the spear shaft with its crooked teeth. But anon, all its ferocity spent, the serpent lies prone on the ground, its great limbs stretched out in the dust, and expending its last gasps with panting breath.

Forthwith the clapping and shouting surges upward from the high walls, and the wild rejoicing lifts high the mingled voices. When the king and queen, half dead, learn what has transpired, forgetful of old age they rush to the walls, and with precipitate emotion command the release of their daughter, pallid, congealed with fright, wellnigh dead. They stand about with tender affection, they are filled with amazement, they gaze open-mouthed on the face

of the virgin, nor have they words adequate for so great joy; they weep and stretch out their arms, and as it were bereft of speech, utter their feelings not with words but with gesture; they almost die for joy. Then there is the hum of voices as they all talk at once about so marvelous an event, such unlooked for good fortune, and they recall the similar mischance of the daughter of Laomedon, whom, exposed to the sea-monster, the Tirynthian hero, as he passed through the Phrygian borders, gave back to her father unharmed. Also there are some who believe that, in the person of the knight, Alcides is disguised, or Castor, or warlike Pallas, or Mars.

But while the city resounds with talk, the victor shouts: 'Now that you are safe, open the gates, rush forth and give thanks to Christ, the author of this benefit.' They obey, throw open the gates, eagerly rush forth—as a torrential stream when from the high valleys it hurries down its mass of swirling waters—, gather around the knight, and with bowed heads reverently adore him. He, when the monster has been removed, bending forward commands silence, and addresses the vast crowd in a loud voice.⁴ He recalls the past calamities, declares that the cruel dragon was sent against them by the obscure *manes*, the lower world conniving, to destroy all their fields and their city, teaches them that the gods whose temples they frequent are cruel, swearing that all the gods whom they, deceived by vain rites, are wont to serve, are hostile to our success, and points out that they are gods in name alone, since they are demons of the infernal court. He proceeds to divulge the mysteries of the great thunderer (God) who made the sea, the earth and the stars, and teaches them that he is a god by nature, not by art, a deity void of all form and immutable. To him alone he assigns altars and sacred rites, to him alone festivals, and he proceeds to

⁴ The translation may here be open to question. The Latin reads:

Ille fero incumbens jubet esse silentia, moto
Alloquiturque alto turbam sermone frequentem.

The translation is favored by the fact that in other versions of the story it is customary to speak of the removal of the dead beast. In that case the comma should follow, rather than precede, *moto*. *Fero* may, of course, refer to the horse, in which case *fero moto* means *equo territe* (He, bending forward over his excited steed, commands silence). Or, as the editor of the 1510 edition suggests, *populo* may be understood, which would give the translation: 'Bending forward on his horse, he commands silence to the excited throng.'

tell how love brought the Son of the eternal Father down from the high heavens, and how Christ, assuming mortality, poured into human hearts the heavenly light; how by his death he abolished original sin; how, death conquered, he arose and revealed himself to his own; and how at last as a victor he ascended into the ethereal realms, and consecrated new temples and new honors to the father. And he states that, for aid to the unfortunate, he himself was sent from him who is above the *manes* of Erebus and the false gods.

Uttering such truths with a loud voice, he liberates the people from their ancient error and calling upon the multitude invites them to the (baptismal) water. God is present as the author of this work. From every quarter they go to the font, and they receive the sacred water on their heads. They cast down the old gods and they consecrate the purified temple to the God of thunder. He teaches the rites, and, appointing consecrated ministers, explains the times accommodated to sacred things and divides the seasons into feasts.

Finally they cremate the great limbs of the monster on a burning pyre, and paint the likeness of the serpent on the loftiest buildings, that posterity, coming hither, may read of these frightful deeds and that the fame thereof may extend to aftertimes. They also institute games as a memorial of these labors and great achievements, which the populace of the city may celebrate each year, such games as Greece formerly held for Archemorus, for great Alcides, and the thundering father (Jove). The king and the queen then approach, cause Alcyone to bow low at the feet of the saint, and speak as follows: 'That our fellow citizens, that we and our daughter, survive, this is thy gift, oh saintly victor; that the true gods are revealed to us, this thy supreme virtue has achieved. In fine, thou preservest our bodies and thou preservest our souls, and to thee we owe ourselves and the city itself.' Thus speak the royal couple, and forthwith they place gifts at his feet, sparkling gems, golden vessels encrusted with carvings, as many as for a long time the magnificence of royalty had required to be beaten, and cloaks superb with gold and silver. The city also and the liberated citizens prepare greater gifts. All these the victor gives to Christ, and commands that they shall erect in the heart of the city a great temple of living marble, in the Roman style, to the mother of the gods (the Virgin). Immediately on that spot where the founda-

tions of the noble structure were destined to be laid, a fountain with most copious sparkling water gushes forth—such a fountain as the Pierides inhabit in Phocis, such as the Graces in Orchomenos, and Arethusa in the Sicilian fields—, a draught from which can remove from the entire body all the venom wherewith the monster poisoned the unhappy city. Consequently as many as lay in their abodes infected with this plague sought aid for their bodies from the sacred fountain, and just as the multitude come to drink the waters of Albertus when August returns, so that entire city would visit the fountain on the anniversary of its appearance. And he caused it to flow into the fen, whereby through the rising of the pond, it would overflow the banks, and, by forming a stream, would spread the stagnant deposit through the dry fields. Thus his devotion worked to the advantage of the people and the countryside.

Mantuan's poem is an adaptation of the *roman d'aventure*, written in the metre and heroic style of classical poetry. It is apparently unique in its ambitious treatment of the theme, and would naturally have commanded the attention of a poet who was attempting an immortal work with St. George as the hero of his first book. That Spenser knew Mantuan's poem, either at first hand or through Barclay's translation, is obvious, for he drew upon Mantuan for many of the details in the latter part of his narrative. The watchman upon the wall reporting the struggle, the command to open the brazen gate, the emphasis upon the three social classes—the royal family, the peers, and the populace, the obeisance made to St. George, the proclamation that he was the savior of the city, the common murmur that he was some great hero, divinely sent, the gifts of ivory and gold presented by the king, the reception of the princess by her parents, and the concluding festivities,—all of these details seem to find their suggestion in Mantuan. The fights with the dragon also present certain points in common—the manner in which the dragon approaches, half walking and half flying, the smoke from his nostrils which darkens the sun, the death thrust received through the mouth, and the comparison of the hero to Hercules—, but with the exception of the last point, these are only the conventional details of dragon fights.

An equally important presumptive source for Spenser's St. George is the life written as a so-called tapestry poem by John Lydgate. Three manuscript versions survive, two at Trinity Col-

lege, one of which was transcribed with the variants by Henry Noble MacCracken for the *Early English Text Society* (1907), and the other at the Bodleian, transcribed by Miss Eleanor Prescott Hammond and published in *Englische Studien* (1910-1911). In the Cambridge manuscript the circumstances which occasioned the poem are explained as follows: "Next nowe flowing here bygynneþe þe devyse of a steyned halle of þe lyf of Saint George ymagyned by Daun Johan þe Munk of Bury Lydegate and made with þe balades at þe request of þarmorieres of London for þonour of þeyre broþerhode and þeyre feest of Saint George." Rather clearly the poem was to interpret a mural decoration, either by having the text or chosen portions thereof accompany the successive pictures, or by having them read when the decoration was unveiled at the feast of St. George.

In the opening stanza of the poem, Lydgate addresses his hearers or readers as follows:

O yee folk þat heer present be,
 Wheeche of þis story shal haue Inspeccioun,
 Of Saint George yee may beholde and see
 His martirdome, and his passyon;
 And howe he is protectour and patroun,
 þis hooly martir, of knighthood loodsterre,
 To Engliſshe men boope in pees and werre.

The second stanza states that the order of the garter was founded by Edward III in honor of St. George. In the third stanza St. George is specifically denominated the knight of holiness, Christ's own knight, peculiarly chosen to fight against the various powers of Satan:

þis name George by Interpretacioun
 Is sayde of tweyne, þe first of hoolynesse,
 And þe secound of knighthood and renoun,
 As þat myne Auctour lykeþe for to expresse,
 þe feond venqwysshing of manhoode and prowesse,
 þe worlde, þe fleeshe, as Crystes owen knight,
 Wher-euer he roode in steel armed bright.

The fourth stanza tells of his birth in Cappadocia and his youthful delight in virtue, and the fifth, of the distinctive character of his knight-errantry as the champion of truth:

And Cristes feyth for to magnefyne
 At gretter age his cuntree he forsooke,

And thorough his noblesse and his chyuallerye
 Trouthe to sousteene, who-so list to looke,
 Many a Iournee he upon him tooke,
 þe chirche defending with sword of equityte,
 þe Right of wydowes, and of virgynytee.

The poem then proceeds to the story of the fight with the dragon, which had long terrified the city of Lysseene :

A gret dragoun, with scales siluer sheene,
 Horryble, dreedful, and monstrous of sight,
 To-for the Citee lay boope day and night.

To satisfy the hunger of this beast, at first two sheep are sacrificed every day, then men, women and children by lot, until at length the lot falls on the king's daughter. The damsel is sent forth, trembling with fear and leading a sheep. At the critical moment St. George, her own knight, sent from the Lord, appears, accomplishes the liberation of the city, and is acclaimed conqueror with a royal procession in which palms and banners—or, as the Bodleian manuscript has it, with palms and laurels—are triumphantly borne. Lydgate tells this part of the story as follows :

þat sche most nexst of necessityte
 Beo so deuowred, helpe may no meede,
 But to beo sent oute of þat cytee,
 þis cely mayde quakyng in hir dreed;
 Vpon hir hande a sheep she did leed,
 Hir fadir wepte, hir moder, boope tweyne,
 And al þe Cytee in teerys did so reyne.

At hir oute goyng hir fader for þe noones
 Arrayed her with al his ful might
 In cloope of golde with gemys and with stoones,
 Which shoone ful sheene ageyne þe sonne bright,
 And on hir wey sheo mette an armed knight
 Sent frome þe lord as in hir diffence
 Ageynst þe dragoun to make resistance.

Saint George it was, oure ladyes owen knyght,
 þat armed seet vpon a ryal steed
 Which came to socour þis mayden in hir right,
 Of aventure in þis grete neode,
 'Ellas!' quod she, whane she takeþe heed,
 And bade him fleen in hir mortal feer,
 Lest he also with hir deuowred were.

And whane he saughe of hir þe maner,
 He hadde pytee and eeke compassyoun,

To seen, alas, þe cristal streemys cleer
On hir cheekys reyne and royle adowne,
Thought he wolde beon hir Chaumpyoun,
For lyff nor deeth frome hir not to depart
But in hir quarell his body to Iupart.

Hooly Saint George his hors smote on þe syde
Whane he þe dragoun sawe lyfft vp his hede,
And towardes him he proudely gan to ryde
Ful lyche a knight with outen fere or dreede;
Avysly of witt he tooke goode heed,
With his spere sharp and kene egrounde
Thoroughe þe body he gaf þe feonde a wownde.

þe cely mayde, knelyng on hir kne,
Vn to hir goddes makid hir preyer,
And Saint George, whane he did it see,
To hir he sayde, with debonayre cheer,
'Ryse vp anoon, myn owen doughter deer,
Take þy girdell, and make þer-of a bande,
And leed þis dragoun boldly in þyn hande

In to þe cyte, lyche a conqueresse,
And þe dragoun meekly shall obeye.'
And to þe cytee anoon she gan hir dresse—
þe Ouggely monstre dourst it not withseye—
And Saint George þe mayden gan conveye,
þat whane þe kyng hade Inspeccyoun,
With palme and banner he gooþe processyoun,

Yiving to him þe laude of þis victorie,
Which haþe þeyre cytee delyverd out of dreed;
And Saint George, to encesce his glorye,
Pulled out a swerde and smote of his hed,
þe people alwey taking ful good heed,
How God þis martyr list to magnefyre,
And him to enhaunce thorughe his Chiuallerye.

þanne he made þe dragoun to be drawe,
With waynes and cartes fer out of þe towne,
And after þat he taught hem Crystes lawe,
By his doctryne and predicacyoun,
And frome þerrour by conuersyoun,
He made hem tourne, þe kyng and þe cyte,
And of oon hert baptysed for to be.

It must be apparent to anyone familiar with the legend of holiness that Spenser borrowed many hints from this or some very similar version: St. George, like the Red Cross Knight, is Christ's

own special knight of holiness and one who, again like the Red Cross Knight, thirsts for renown. His distinctive service is to fight against sin in its various forms and to uphold truth. The mere mention of the bright steel armor of St. George was seemingly enough of a hint for the later poet to identify it with that armor of the Christian which he assigns to the Red Cross Knight in the introductory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh. Moreover, it needed but the touch of Spenser's genius to identify Una, who is Truth, with the king's daughter, and to convert the sheep which the damsel leads into the "milkwhite lambe" which Una leads, a Christian symbol. Again, the processional rejoicing furnished raw material which Spenser richly elaborated in the concluding episode of his legend.

It remains to observe that Spenser may have taken a hint for the names of the heroes of his first books from etymologies proposed by Caxton in his prefatory remarks to the Life of St. George. After proposing another etymology Caxton remarks: "Or George may be said of *gerar*, that is holy, and of *gyon*, that is a wrestler, that is an holy wrestler, for he wrestled with the dragon." May not this chance sentence have served to confirm the poet in his choice of St. George as the hero of Book One, and also have suggested the name of Sir Guyon for the hero of the second book, that other knight who wrestled so valiantly with every form of incontinence?

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF *THE REVENGER'S TRAGEDY*

BY E. H. C. OLIPHANT

In the entire range of Elizabethan drama there is scarcely a problem more fascinating than that afforded by *The Revenger's Tragedy*, not only because it is the greatest play of the period the authorship of which is wholly in doubt (please let that word "wholly" be noted), but also because it is entirely on the strength of his supposed responsibility that Tourneur has been admitted into the hierarchy of the great masters among Shakspeare's contemporaries. *The Atheist's Tragedy*, the only other play credited to him, would scarcely warrant placing him higher than the second rank of dramatists. The determination of the authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy* is therefore a matter of no small moment; and I venture to hope that this brief paper will help to settle the question.

The external evidence in Tourneur's favor is far from conclusive. The late seventeenth-century cataloguers Kirkman and Archer supply all there is. The attitude of scholars to the attributions of these old cataloguers is inconsistent and illogical: they accept or reject as the spirit moves them. Where the internal evidence favors an ascription, acceptance is natural and reasonable; but, where the two classes of evidence clash, there is rejection in some cases, and acceptance in others. The injustice may be stated more precisely: where Shakspeare is concerned, the attribution is invariably rejected; where he is not concerned, it is sometimes accepted. No doubt, these blundering ascriptions to Shakspeare are, on the score of quality, more absurd than that of *The Revenger's Tragedy* to Tourneur; but there is not a more hopeless disparity between the versification of the least Shakspearean amongst them and that of Shakspeare than there is between the verse of *The Atheist's Tragedy* and that of the play under consideration here. They are so utterly unlike, so markedly at variance in conception of prosodic law, that it is nothing less than amazing that Tourneur's authorship of the greater of the two plays has been so little questioned.

As I have said, the verse is not the verse of Tourneur. If I do not offer proof of the truth of my assertion, it is because the differ-

ences are so obvious that it seems unnecessary to do more than invite any student to set them side by side and compare them. Also the vocabulary is not Tourneur's. Nor do the two plays yield much in the way of parallel passages. The most striking is that afforded by the demand for an earthquake and the invocation to "patient Heaven" to express wrath in thunder bolts and lightning (*AT*, IV, 3) and similar passages in *RT*, II, 1 and IV, 2; but both are indebted to Marston. We also have the expression "'Tis oracle" in both plays; but we also have "Right oracle" in I, 4 of *The Bloody Banquet* (henceforth referred to as *BB*), with which Tourneur had nothing to do, but in which another dramatic writer whose claims to a share in *RT* have yet to be considered was quite obviously concerned. I hope to show that the author of *RT* repeated himself in other plays very persistently; therefore the almost complete absence of parallels between *AT* and *RT* is highly significant.

As if this were not enough, it is further to be noted that the author of *AT* is influenced in no small measure by Shakspeare, whose influence on *RT* is negligible.¹ This is a noteworthy fact, though its importance must not be exaggerated.

Fleay favored Webster's authorship of *RT*; but his reasons are not convincing. If Flamineo in *The White Devil*, like the Duke in *RT*, is trodden on, it is not necessary to deduce identity of authorship. Such a piece of theatrical business was not only easily imitable but positively invited imitation in an age so given to heaping physical horror on horror; nor is it safe to build upon resemblances in plot or situation. Nevertheless, there is something to be said for Webster's participation. There are two or three passages in I, 2 that recall him, and the prose thrust into the midst of the verse in IV, 2 would unquestionably be ascribed to him were his presence elsewhere sufficiently indicated. This may be quite possibly an insertion by him; but it does not in itself afford adequate ground for inferring his participation in the play.

Attention has frequently been directed to resemblances between *RT* and the play of unrecognised authorship known as *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (*SMT*), and the present writer pointed out in

¹ Though I describe it as "negligible," there are certain singular resemblances between *RT* and parts of *Lear*, notably IV, 5. The meaning of these I do not propose to enter upon here.

an article in *Modern Philology* early in 1911 that the closest approximation to the style of *RT* was to be found in the plays of Middleton. I now go further and say that Middleton is the author of both *RT* and *SMT*.

In both will be found almost all the characteristics of Middletonian verse, the prevalence of rhyme, including a fair percentage of double-ending rhyme, varying length of line, an extraordinary fondness for triple endings, a slurring of syllables so as to crowd fourteen or fifteen or even more into the limits of a pentameter (not very common in *SMT*), the use of words with a contracted "it" (such as "in't") to make double-endings, the use of the Fletcherian extra emphatic syllable, and an occasional resort to a trochaic line after a double-ending. *RT* is earlier in date than *SMT*, and does not show the author's characteristics so markedly; but that is as it should be; for his acknowledged plays show us Middleton's steady growth to an individual style. In the later tragedy they are, in many respects, almost as clearly marked as in *Women, beware Women*" (*WBW*); even in the earlier, the approximation to the verse of his maturity is much closer than it is to the verse of any other Elizabethan writer.

It would be easy to prove that the mere mechanism of the verse of *RT* is Middletonian, even if it be not Middleton's;² what is of

² It may suffice here to say that the proportion of rhyme is heavier than usual even in Middleton's early work, but the percentage of the rhyme that is double-ending is about average. The irregularity of the length of the line, measured by feet, is quite characteristic of him, though more marked than in any other of his plays. Slurred and doubly anapaestic lines are more common than in any other work, even *WBW*. Trochaic lines occur more frequently than usual, the play in this respect being on the same line with *OHM*. Dropt syllables are more frequent than usual. The use of the Fletcherian extra emphatic syllable, common enough in the later work, is rare, as in the early plays. The use of double endings is characteristic of the early period, not being excessive; and the trick of deliberately making them by the addition of an address-word or a preposition with an abbreviated "it," so noticeable in the late plays, is absent in the one case, and rare in the other, as in the other early plays. The employment of triple endings, whether in single words or in two or three words, is comparatively light, as in the early work, and there is an average use of the preposition with the abbreviated "it" for the purpose (a characteristically Middletonian trick); but the use of a trochaic address-word, such as 'madam' for a similar purpose, was of later adoption.

more importance, that the resultant music is the same, is quite incapable of proof. In matters of the ear every one must judge for himself—at least, every one to whom God has given an ear. Personally, I attach more importance to the impression the verse makes upon me than I do to any other single factor; and I have little hesitation on this score alone of pronouncing in Middleton's favor; but I do not attempt the hopeless task of proving my case in that way. Instead, I shall seek to prove it by the more favored method of parallel passages—a method capable of much abuse and one to be used with great caution, but nevertheless a method of no little value, and one that has the advantage of presenting in a handy form evidence the worth of which any scholar can test for himself, without having to turn to originals.

In the opening scene we have "my study's ornament," which parallels "my study's ornaments" in *More Dissemblers (MD)*. Next we find the word "shine," the use of which as a noun is almost a specialty of Middleton's.³ It occurs no fewer than five times in this play, the closest parallel being afforded by "the comfortable shine of you" (that is to say, money) in II, 1, which may be compared with "the comfortable shine of joy" in I, 3 of *No Wit (NW)*. This word "comfortable" is one to which Middleton was particularly partial; and, as for the noun "comfort," there are very few plays of Middleton's that do not contain it at least once. In *WBW* I have counted seven instances of its occurrence. The very phrase "That is my comfort" (*RT*, I, 4) is repeated in *NW*, V, 1; *MD*, V, 1; *SMT*, III, 1; *Old Law (OL)*, IV, 2, twice; and probably in others; and, I could instance over forty other cases where the form is but slightly different, as in "What a comfort 'tis," which occurs in both *Anything for a Quiet Life (A)*, IV, 1, and *SMT*, III, 1, or "That's a comfort," as in *Phoenix (Ph)*, I, 2, and *Michaelmas Term (MT)*, IV, 4.

In I, 2 occurs a passage made famous by the praise of Charles Lamb. It begins "O, what a grief 'tis that a man should live / But once i' the world, and then to live a bastard," and ends "Half-damned in the conception by the justice / Of that unbribéd everlasting law." In *WBW* we have similarly "What a grief it is

³It may be remarked that the vocabulary of the play is markedly Middletonian.

to a religious feeling / To think a man should have a friend so goodly, / So wise, so noble, nay, a duke, a brother, / And all this certainly damned!" while the unusual word "unbribéd" is to be found also in *A Trick*, III, 1.

"What, brother, am I far enough from myself?" is the opening of I, 3. It means "Am I well disguised?" It constitutes an interesting parallel with "I am far enough from myself" (with a similar meaning) in II of *BB*, the Middletonian part-authorship of which should be obvious to anyone acquainted with his style. The "Be absent; leave us" of the same scene and "Your absence; leave us" of II, 2 are paralleled in "Your absence, gentle brother" in II, 1 of *WBW*. Further on we find "I have been witness / To the surrender of a thousand virgins; And *not so little*," which reminds one of "I've sworn the same things, / I'm sure, forty times over, *not so little*" (*MD*, III, 1), and of "Some twenty times a day; nay, *not so little*" (*Changeling*, II, 1).

Middleton was fond of denouncing the midnight hour, and of characterising minutes and hours and days. Both habits are reproduced in *RT*; as, in *Ph* (V, 1), we read of "The dreadful brow of twelve last night," so here (I, 3) we are told that "If anything be damned, it will be twelve o'clock at night." So too, as, in *Your Five Gallants* (*YFG*), IV, 8, we have "a happy minute," in *BB*, I, 4, "a most unlucky minute," in *A Mad World* (*MW*), IV, 5, "this bewitching minute," in *Widow*, V, 1, "this afflicting minute," in *Fair Quarrel* (*FQ*), II, 1, "a most awful hour," and, in *SMT*, II, 1, "this friendly hour"; in *RT*, we find "false minute" (I, 2), "a whispering and withdrawing hour" (I, 2), "this luxurious day" (I, 3), "vicious minute" (I, 4), and "a bewildering minute" (III, 5—so-called "4").

A curious habit of Middleton's is illustrated in I, 3 and in other scenes—no less than six times in all. This is the use of "faith" or "troth" as an asseveration in conjunction with the word "true" ("In troth, it is true," "I' faith, to say true," etc.). I have noted instances in several of Middleton's other plays; but in fairness I must remark that I also find in Webster's *Devil's Law-case* an example of this absurd redundancy: "Faith, to say truth" (III, 2). In I, 3 is yet another Middleton parallel, with *SMT* this time, "Honesty / Is like a stock of money laid to sleep, / Which, ne'er so little broke, does never keep" recalling "Thy once crack'd

honesty / Is like the breaking of whole money: / It never comes to good, but wastes away" in II, 1 of that play.

In II, 1 Dondolo, a clownishly witty servant, exercises his wit upon his mistress; he is rebuked by her and told to "*cut off a great deal of dirty way.*" Middleton occasionally repeats the names of his characters; and more than one of the names in this play occurs elsewhere. It is significant that a humorous servant of similar character in *MD* is also named Dondolo, and that he announces his intention "to be short and *cut off a great deal of dirty way.*" In II, 1 again we find "It is the sweetest box that e'er my nose came nigh, / The finest drawn-work cuff that e'er was worn." Middleton has of course no monopoly of examples of the superlative followed by "that e'er"; but I doubt if so many instances could be gathered from the entire theatre of his contemporaries as from his plays. I have jotted down no less than forty-eight from his other dramatic work (besides another dozen practically, though not verbally the same), the nearest to this being from *FQ*, II, 1, "It is the joyfull'st blow that e'er flesh felt."

In the same scene we have two examples of Middleton's fondness for asides giving ironical confirmation of remarks made, as in *Ph*, V, 1, "Spoke truer than you think for," which is very like Vendice's "Spoke truer than you meant it." Still more marked is Middleton's habit of making one character express approval of what is said by another. I have noted twenty-eight examples of this, of which no less than eight are in *RT*. As specimens let me quote: *NW*, IV, 2, "That's well said"; *BB*, I, 1, "Your grace defines him right"; *Ph*, I, 1, "Your grace hath spoke it right"; *Ph*, II, 2, "'Unfortunate,' indeed! That was well placed"; *MW*, I, 1, "'Syllable' was [well] placed there; *Witch*, III, 2, "Why, that's well spoke"; *SMT*, V, 1, "'Twas finely spoke that"; *RT*, I, 1, "Y'have truly spoke him"; *RT*, III, 5, "You've spoke that right"; *RT*, III, 5, "You have my voice in that" (with which compare in III, 5 of *Timon*—a scene partly or wholly Middleton's—"You have my voice to't"); *RT*, II, 2, "Thou'st spoke that true."

Yet another mark of Middleton appears in II, 1 in the application of the adjective "poisonous" to a human being. He had, however, perhaps a slight preference for the noun, as when Castiza (not the Castiza of *RT*, but the Castiza of *Ph*) speaks of Proditor as "my poison." It is another of the many proofs of Middleton's

participation in *BB* that we have there "I'm sick of thy society, poison to mine eyes" (*V*, 1), as we have in *The Chaste Maid* (*ChM*) "thou poison to my heart" (*V*, 1).

In no less than four several scenes we have a characteristic expression of Middleton's, not found, so far as I am aware, outside of his work. In *I*, 1 is "Give Revenge her due, / She has kept touch hitherto"; in *II*, 2, "Give them their due, / Men are not comparable to them"; and, in two scenes of *III*, "'Tis we are mad in sense, they but in clothes. / *Hip*. Faith, and in clothes too, give us our due," and "He showed himself a gentleman in that, give him his due." It will be noticed that in every case the infinitive "to" or the conditional "if you" is understood. This is entirely Middletonian.

The heroine's pretended non-recognition of her mother is paralleled in regard to a wife in *BB*, *IV*, 3, and in regard to a father in *SMT*, *II*, 1, in each case because of disapprobation of the person's conduct. Though these may have been taken from the similar pretence of Lear in regard to Goneril, in *Lear*, *I*, 4, they are, I consider, of much more consequence than the many parallels of incident and of technique between Acts *III* and *IV* and *SMT*. So, too, I do not attach much importance to the appearance of a blazing star in the last act of *RT*, as in the last of *BB*: an easily imitable piece of stagery affords no sure clue to authorship; but there are some astonishing verbal parallels yet to be pointed out.

Middleton had a strange fancy for thirds. As we have, in *NW*, *V*, 1, "Not the third part now so loosely minded," and, in *IV*, 2, "the third part of husbands," and, in *II*, 3, "the third part of an hour," in *MD*, *IV*, 1, "the third part of an hour's stay," and, in *WBW*, *III*, 1, "the third part of an hour," so here, in *III*, 3 ("2"), we find "the third part of a minute." I am not aware that there is any dramatist other than Middleton given to dividing his time into thirds. In the next scene, four officers are described as "a trick," because "a trick is commonly four cards," just as, in *OL*, *III*, 1, a group of four men is spoken of as "a trick of discarded cards." In the scene that follows, there are several points of resemblance to other of Middleton's plays. The most remarkable are:

(1) "O, 'tis able / To make a man spring up and knock his forehead / Against yon silver ceiling"; *NW*, *V*, 1, "Methinks I

could spring up and knock my head / Against yon silver ceiling now for joy"; *OL*, II, 1, "Leaped for joy / So mountingly, I touched the stars methought"—the idea being exactly the same, though the wording is different.

(2) "Are lordships sold to maintain ladyships?" *Ph*, II, 2, "Would sell his lordship, if he liked her ladyship."

(3) The denunciation of false shows in the masquerade of life in "See, ladies, with false forms / You deceive men, but cannot deceive worms" (and also, in I, 3, "And, in the morning, / When they are up and dressed, and their mask on, / Who can perceive this, save that eternal eye / That sees through flesh and all"); *YFG*, II, 1, "Whose clothes / E'en stand upright in silver, when their bodies / Are ready to drop through 'em. Such there be. / They may deceive the world: they ne'er shall me." *Witch*, II, 1, "Some can make merry with a friend seven year, / And nothing seen; as perfect a maid still, / To the world's knowledge, as she came from rocking."

Another scene affording many parallels is IV, 2. I may instance (1) the use of "Covetous" in "I'm covetous to know the villain" (*MD*, IV, 1, "I'm covetous of her sight; *MOQ*, I, 1, "Covetous / Of a succession from your loins"; *OL*, II, 2, "Covetous of your own father's death"; (2) the use of "sasarara" for "certiorari" (*Ph*, thrice, "sursurrara"); (3) the use in this scene and I, 4 of "Draw nearer" and "Come nearer," Mr. William Wells having shown Middleton's fondness for such invitations; (4) the employment of "seven years" for a large indefinite period—"some seven years' thinking" (*Game*, IV, 1; *Trick*, II, 1; *Witch*, I, 1 and II, 1; *Widow*, V, 1; *RG*, III, 1 and III, 3, the latter being probably Dekker's; *ChM*, III, 2); (5) "It hits as I could wish," a variant of Middleton's frequently used "It hits right"; (6) "All this is I," which duplicates the explanatory "That's I" of I, 3, which reappears in *NW*, V, 1.

Though I must hasten to a conclusion, I must not fail to draw attention to some of the parallels in V, 1. "Not so little" occurs again. "How quaintly he died, like a politician, in hugger-mugger—made no man acquainted with it," reminds one of "Would he die so like a politician, and not once write his mind to me?" (*Ph*, I, 6). "Hereafter" as an adjective ("hereafter times") occurs also in *MW*, I, 1 ("my hereafter fortunes").

I have endeavored to avoid parallels that do not seem to me to point specifically to Middleton. For example, I have ignored the description of a person as a building in *I*, 4 ("A fair, comely building, newly fallen") and the parallels in *Game*, *V*, 3 ("This fair structure of comely honor"), *Witch*, *I*, 1 (" 'Tis a fair building"), and *BB*, *I*, 3 ("There's a fair house within; but 'tis ill furnisht"), because I think it likely that many parallels could be found in the work of other dramatists. So also with the very Middletonian use of "pleasure" as a verb, meaning "oblige" (*II*, 1). So too with the characteristic, but not very significant "for this," in *III*, 5 ("4") "Camphire her face for this, and grieve her Maker . . . all for this?"; *Ph*, *I*, 4, "Did she neglect the presence and opinion of her friends / For this?"; *SMT*, *V*, 2, "Didst thou make haste to leave the world for this?"; *RG*, *V*, 2, "Did I engage my whole estate for this?". There are also contractions that seem to point to Middleton; and, without desiring to attach undue importance to it, I may direct attention to Middleton's fondness for the use of the word "able" applied to something abstract or inanimate, as, in *WBW*, *III*, 1, "A welcome / Able to draw men's envies upon man," or, in *Widow*, *III*, 3, "Clothes able to make a man an unbeliever," of which *RT*, *III*, 5, contains a couple of instances—one when Vendice, with the skull in his hand, says "Here's an eye / Able to tempt a great man to serve God"; and the other / when he speaks of his joy as "Able to make a man spring up and knock his forehead / Against yon silver ceiling."

I may, also, in the briefest possible way draw attention to (a) the use of "breke custom" in *I*, 1, "That the uprightest man, if such there be, That sin but seven times a day, broke custom / And made up eight with looking after her" (*MOQ*, *III*, 1, "I'll break through custom"); (b) the turn of phrase in *IV*, 4, "I'll give you this: that one I never knew / Plead better for and 'gainst the devil than you" (*Witch*, *II*, 2, "Nay, I'll say that for him: he's the uncivil'st gentleman"; *Widow*, *I*, 1, "Nay, I'll say that for thee: I ne'er found thee but honest"; *Trick*, *V*, 2, "I'll say that for you, brother"); (c) the resemblance between "All the farthingales that fall plump about twelve o'clock at night upon the rushes" (*II*, 2) and "'Twill fall at the very throb of a farthingale. / Graz. Not if it fall on the rushes" (*MOQ*, *I*, 2).

Apart from versification, I find but four common characteristics

of Middleton that are not to be found in *RT*, and I consider it but fair that I should name them. The first is an adjunctive use of "I thank," of which I may quote as examples, "E'en to my face he plies it hard, I thank him" (*Ph*, I, 2) and "They're very still, I thank my happiness" (*WBW*, I, 1). The second is a breaking up of the sentences so that one is followed by another that is explanatory or that consists of an extension of the idea, as in "He's a right tyrant now; he will not bate me / Th' affliction of my soul: he'll have all parts" (*SMT*, I, 1); or, "There's no hope of ever meeting now: my way's not thither" (*MD*, I, 2). There may seem nothing very markedly distinctive in the couple of isolated passages here quoted; but they are in fact entirely characteristic of Middleton, and, in their form, almost peculiar to him. The third is his habit of turning what would with most writers be a subordinate sentence into the principal one, as in, "I think of nobody when I'm in play, / I am so earnest" (*WBW*, I, 2); or "'Tis a very small thing that we withstand, / Our weakness is so great" (*Trick*, III, 1), where the natural form of construction would be "When I'm in play, I am so earnest that I think of nobody" and "Our weakness is so great that 'tis a very small thing that we withstand." The fourth is his trick of homely simile, none the less effective for its homeliness, as in "'Tis like one that commits sin and writes his faults in his forehead" (*MD*, IV, 1); "I'm like a man plucked up from many waters / That never looked for help" (*SMT*, V, 2); "As if a drunkard, to appease Heaven's wrath, / Should offer up his surfeit for a sacrifice" (*WBW*, IV, 3); "As if a queen should make her palace of a pest-house" (*Changeling*, V, 2); "Is like one falls to meat and forgets grace" (*Widow*, V, 1); "'Tis like a jewel of that precious value / Whose worth's not known but to the skilful lapidary" (*Game*, V, 3). The importance of the absence of these four characteristics must not be exaggerated, in view of the presence of all others, for they are absent also from *MT*, *MW*, *The Family of Love*, and the Middleton part of *1HW*, to say nothing of *Spanish Gipsy*, his part-authorship of which has been questioned, or *Blurt, Master Constable*, which seems to me to be falsely attributed to him, and to be in reality the work of Thomas Dekker. Moreover, *A, YFG*, and what seems to be the Middleton part of *FQ* fail in regard to three of the four; *Trick* and *Ph* in regard to two; and five other of

his acknowledged plays in regard to one. It is evident, therefore, that to look in every one of his plays for every one of his traits of sentence-formation or his tricks of expression is to demand too much. The significant facts are that there is nothing in *RT* inconsistent with the theory of his authorship and that there is very much that is consistent with no other view whatever. There is scarcely a scene which does not seem to me markedly his, and none that may not be his; and, despite the Websterian appearance of some of IV, 2, I believe the play to be wholly Middleton's.

It may be pointed out, in conclusion, that the muddling of the parts of *Ambitioso* and *Supervacuo* in V, 1 and 3 and the double naming of Vendice's brother are facts that imply revision; and, though it has been declared that the play shows plentiful signs of having been carefully edited, I think that good reasons might be adduced for the view that, whoever edited it, it was not the author.

Is there any theory that will fit the facts that I have cited, save the theory of Middleton's authorship? Those who are content to think that *Henry VIII* contains much matter written by Shakespeare in the manner of Fletcher, and that *Barnavel* was written by a dramatist who tried, and succeeded in, writing some scenes as Fletcher, and others as Massinger, would have written them, may be satisfied with an explanation that somebody (Tourneur, let us say) set himself out deliberately to imitate Middleton, or that Middleton was so struck by the work of the author of this play that he forthwith altered his own style and thenceforward wrote nothing save in imitation of him. If anyone finds such an explanation satisfactory, nothing more need be said.

The versification of Middleton's later period was deliberate and markedly different from that of his earlier period. So much may be admitted without any acceptance of a theory of imitation of someone else. Critics often speak of Middleton's versification as if it were slipshod or careless: it is nothing of the sort; it is unorthodox; it is of a markedly individual freedom; but it has rules of its own, as has the verse of Fletcher, in which it finds its nearest affinity. Amazing as is the difference between Middleton's earlier and later manners, it is not incredible, as is the difference between *AT* and *RT*. It is not difficult to imagine a man of genius—as Middleton was—saying to himself, "Hitherto I have written regular, orthodox verse: it does not satisfy me. It is unnatural and

wofully lacking in freedom. Will it not be possible to infuse into my verse the lifelikeness of prose dialogue without impairing, perhaps even while heightening, its poetical qualities? If I can do it, beshrew the rules: let me make my own." It may be that Fletcher followed his lead or that he followed Fletcher's. Each was a genius in this matter of versification, and each had the necessary daring. The change from the early to the late Middleton is then, I maintain, a comprehensible change, even apart from the touches of the later manner that we see sticking out here and there from the verse of the early work; but the change from the style of *AT* to that of *RT*, assuming them both to be from the pen of Tourneur, is not comprehensible—to me, at least. The style of *AT* is some twenty years ahead of its time. In saying that I am not wishing to say that it was the best of its time, for to my thinking, the style of twenty years later was markedly inferior, for it was the style of Shirley. But the point is, that *AT* deviates from the verse of the time in one way, and *RT* in quite another way, a way diametrically opposed to that of *AT*. To ask us to accept the one author for the two plays is to ask us to regard him not as a deliberate artist, but as a mere experimenter, though an experimenter of genius.

So much for the versification: if it be markedly reminiscent of Middleton, shall it not be regarded as Middleton's, especially when it is accompanied by his manner of sentence-making, by his cast of thought, by his dramatic technique, by his sovereign mastery of words? And then, in addition to all this, we have the question of the parallels. What are we to deduce from them? That Middleton, though not the author of the play, was so obsessed by it that his later plays, such as *WBW*, *NW*, *MD*, *Changeling*, *FQ*, contain many passages resembling passages in it, and that other plays more or less close to it in date, such as *Ph*, *YFG*, *OL*, are as liberally besprinkled with parallels? Is it not a much safer and more reasonable deduction to regard the passages in question not as denoting imitation, but as showing that they came from the one mint? If these parallels were confined to one or two of his plays, I might consider a theory of plagiarism; when I find them scattered throughout practically the entire body of his plays, I feel it necessary to look for some other explanation, and the only satisfactory one I can discover is that Middleton was the author of *RT*, as of the others.

MILTON IN SPAIN

BY E. ALLISON PEERS

The history, such as it is, of the vogue of Milton in Spain, is strikingly different from that of the influence of every other English man of letters who has up to the present been studied in his relations with Spanish literature. A few English writers, notably Byron¹ and Scott,² exercised a real and lasting influence both upon individual Spanish authors and upon the course of the literature of Spain. A larger number, such as "Ossian,"³ Richardson, Fielding, Gray, Collins, Thomson and Young,⁴ were known only to a few Spanish writers, to whom they made special individual appeal, and though these did something to make them known in their own country, they never succeeded in causing them to become established as other than recognised exotics.

The story of the influence of Milton in Spain conforms to neither of these types. Although the eighteenth century was well on its way before he became known, his greatness was recognised, and he was translated, appreciated, commented upon and criticised by one after another of the greatest authors of the day. This phenomenon continued well into the nineteenth century,—until, in fact, the "new Romanticism" in Spain of 1835 forced other writers into prominence, when Milton, with many others, became for a time forgotten. Only towards the end of the century was he once more studied and read. The interesting fact, however, is that in spite of the attention paid to him (or rather, to his *Paradise Lost*, for

¹ See Philip H. Churchman, "The Beginnings of Byronism in Spain," in *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXIII, 1910, and "Byron and Espronceda," *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XX, 1909, together with E. Allison Peers, "The Earliest Notice of Byron in Spain," *Revue de littérature comparée*, Vol. II, 1922, and "Sidelights on Byronism in Spain," *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. I, 1921.

² See Philip H. Churchman and E. Allison Peers, "A Survey of the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain," *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. LV, 1922.

³ See E. Allison Peers, "The Influence of Ossian in Spain," in *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. IV, pp. 121 ff.

⁴ See E. Allison Peers, "The Influence of Young and Gray in Spain," in *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XXI, and "Minor English Influences on Spanish literature," in *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. LXII.

little more of his work was known) by such notable men, and during so long a period, he never seems to have exercised any fundamental influence on Spanish literature at all. It is easy enough to account for this by showing how entirely unlike were his character and genius to those of Spain. It is not my intention here to labour this point. Rather I aim in this article at setting out the facts, as a brief and minor contribution to the study of foreign influences in Spanish literature of modern times.

I

Menéndez y Pelayo, in his *Ideas Estéticas*, gives Milton perhaps too exalted a position in Spain when he says: "De los poetas clásicos ingleses anteriores al siglo XVIII, sólo Milton era conocido y admirado y aun traducido, aunque generalmente por fragmentos."⁵ To verify or refute his statement, we must know what precisely he understands by *clásicos*, and to what precise dates he refers: both these points are uncertain. Nor can we be certain who first made Milton known in Spain. Long biblical poems were in fashion in eighteenth-century Spain,⁶ and *Paradise Lost* may well have been known long before we suspect. Menéndez y Pelayo, it is true, writes of the "*Paraíso Perdido* de Milton, que [Luzán] dió a conocer por primera vez en España, traduciendo algunos fragmentos,"⁷ but at a later point in the same book he qualifies that statement with a "perhaps."⁸ The doubt is easily accounted for. After publishing the first edition of his *Poética* in 1737, Luzán appears to have realised his ignorance of English poetry, or to have had it brought home to him⁹ and to have set to work

⁵ *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, 2d edition, 1904, vi, 88-9.

⁶ E. g., Acevedo's *Creación del Mundo*, Uziel's *David* and the Marqués de Lazán's more ambitious *Métrica histórica, sagrada, profana y general del mundo*. Parts of the last of these may have been influenced in a general way by Milton, but I have found no parallel passages.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ed. cit., v, 175.

⁸ *Ed. cit.*, vi, 89: "Sabemos que Luzán había hablado de él con elogio, quizá por vez primera."

⁹ Cf. introduction to the *Poética* (2d ed. 1789), p. 1: "Los Diaristas de Trevoux habían notado, que al parecer, el señor Luzán no tenía noticia, o no apreciaba los poetas ingleses, pues no habló de ellos en su *Poética*; y esta fué una de las cosas que creyó necesario añadir, como lo hizo."

to study English literature. As a partial result of this, the second edition of the *Poética* interpolates in the chapter (II, xvi) entitled "De las imágenes intelectuales, o reflexiones del ingenio" the following passage:

El Paraíso Perdido de Juan Milton, Inglés (poema singular, donde entre algunas ideas extravagantes se hallan otras iguales en sublimidad y novedad a las de Homero y Virgilio) abunda en excelentes comparaciones, así por su variedad como por lo remoto de los objetos comparados: de las cuales copiaré algunas por ser este poema poco conocido al común de nuestra nación.¹⁰

This tribute is followed by three brief prose translations from *Paradise Lost*, probably composed not long after 1737, though no evidence is known which enables one to date them with certainty. The extract here quoted (from Book II of Milton's poem) will give an idea of Luzán's success as a translator and of the type of passage which he selected. He might certainly have chosen more wisely:

En el Lib. II. compara Milton al Demonio cuando volaba hacia el infierno con una armada.

No de otra suerte se descubre en altamar, colgada al parecer de las nubes, una soberbia flota arrojada de Bengala por los vientos que soplan de la parte de la línea equinocial; o que salió de las Islas de Ternate y Tidore (de donde los ricos mercaderes sacan sus aromas y preciosa especería) que intentando doblar el cabo, boga contra la impetuosa corriente por el inmenso mar Ethiópico, y dirige su rumbo hacia el polo, sin que la estorben las tinieblas de la noche: como se dejaba ver y parecía desde lejos rápidamente volando el príncipe de los espíritus malignos.¹¹

¹⁰ *Ed. cit.*, p. 252. It is surprising to find no further mention of Milton in the second edition of the *Poética*; one would have expected it, in particular, in Book IV, which deals with epic poetry.

¹¹ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 253-4. As the original lines are not as well known as those which are reproduced in translation below, they are here copied:

As when far off at sea a fleet descry'd
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial wings
Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
Their spicy drugs; they on the trading flood
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
Ply stemming nightly toward the pole. So seem'd
Far off the flying Fiend.

(*Paradise Lost*, Book II, ll. 636-643.)

II

Whatever may be the truth about the priority of Luzán's translations, it is certain that, long before the second edition of the *Poética* was published, *Paradise Lost* was finding many Spanish admirers. In 1754 we find Velázquez, in his *Orígenes de la Poesía Castellana*,¹² writing of "the only translation which we have from the English," namely, a translation of *Paradise Lost* which was being undertaken by one Alonso Dalda. In 1772 appeared Cadalso's satirical *Eruditos a la Violeta*, which ridiculed current criticisms of Shakespeare and Milton;¹³ to it was appended a series of translations, including some "fragments" from *Paradise Lost*, accompanied by the originals, often misspelt, but otherwise faithfully reproduced. A brief and unsatisfactory account of Milton's life was also given.¹⁴

The translated fragments are chiefly remarkable for the closeness with which they follow the original. Very few liberties are taken by the translator. The result is not always happy:

De la culpa del hombre inobediente,
Y el fruto de aquel árbol prohibido,
Cuyo gusto mortal al mundo trajo
La muerte y todo el mal, y el Paraíso
Para el hombre cerró, hasta que otro hombre
Mayor nos rescató, y el feliz sitio
Segunda vez abrió para nosotros;
Canta, celeste musa. . . .

. . . Espíritu supremo,
A quien un corazón derecho y pío
Es más grato que el templo más suntuoso:
Tú que lo sabes, pues en el principio
Estuviste presente con tus alas
Extendidas cubriendo el vasto abismo,

¹² iv, 4: "D. Alonso Dalda, natural de Granada, está actualmente traduciendo en verso suelto el poema del *Parayso perdido* de Milton; y ésta es la única traducción, que tenemos del inglés."

¹³ *Obras de D. José Cadalso*, Madrid, 1818, Vol. I, p. 31: "De los poetas ingleses abominad a la francesa, diciendo que su épico Milton deliró, cuando puso artillería en el cielo, cuando hizo hablar a la muerte, al pecado, etc."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-8.

Haciéndole fecundo, cual paloma
 Que da vida y alientos a sus hijos:
 Ilumina lo que tú halles obscuro,
 Ensalza lo que en mí fuese abatido;
 Porque en la cumbre de este asunto excelso
 Demuestre del Eterno la que admiro
 Providencia, y los hombres de mí escuchen
 Las obras de su Dios y sus caminos.¹⁵

Later than these translations, in 1778, came an unknown translation by Antonio Palazuelos, referred to by Arteaga,¹⁶ and Jovellanos' verse rendering of the first canto of *Paradise Lost*, which he describes as a "free translation." Actually, the freedom is not remarkable, for the employment of an unrimed line of eleven syllables allows him to exercise more concision than one would have expected in a Spanish version, or perhaps desired. The first lines give some idea of what Jovellanos made of Milton's verse:

Canta la inobediencia ¡oh santa musa!
 Del padre de los hombres, que gustando
 Con labio ansioso el fruto prohibido,
 Trajo los males y la muerte al mundo;
 Y di de las moradas venturosas
 De Eden la triste pérdida, negadas
 A la raza mortal, hasta que plugo
 Al Hombre-Dios bajar a recobrarlas. . .
 Y tú, divino Espíritu, a quien más place
 Que los augustos templos la morada
 De un puro y recto corazón, instruye
 Con ciencia divinal mi torpe lengua;
 Tú, que desde el principio fuiste a todo
 Presente, y cobijando el ancho abismo
 So tus inmensas alas, con activo
 Prolífico calor le fecundaste,
 Vén, y eleva mi voz, y lo que es débil
 En mí sostén, y limpia y ilumina
 Lo inmundo y tenebroso, porque pueda
 Subir de un vuelo al encumbrado asunto,
 Justificar la eterna providencia
 De Dios, y abrir al hombre sus caminos.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.

¹⁶ See Menéndez y Pelayo: *Ideas estéticas*, ed. cit., p. 89.

¹⁷ The whole version may be read in *Obras de Jovellanos* (B. A. E., Vol. 1, pp. 26-33).

Jovellanos' translation had at least one fervent admirer in Meléndez Valdés, to whom, a youth some ten years his junior, himself not deaf to Milton's music, he sent a draft for emendation and comment. "Ahí tiene V. S., por último, el *Milton* enmendado," is Meléndez' reply, "pero ¿qué enmiendas lleva?"

Algunas palabras y nada más, bien que esto no es culpa mía, sino del manuscrito, que tan poco trajo que limar. Yo de mi parte he puesto el cuidado posible, y esto mismo me ha hecho tal vez notar algunas cosas muy ligeras, que V. S. me disimulará, tomando de las apuntaciones aquello solo que le guste. Las más de ellas son por huir de las asonancias, que a mí no me agradan en el verso suelto. . . . Otras van también de alguna voz que he procurado suplir o con otra más fuerte o más acomodada. . . . Lo que resta es que V. S. me mande cuanto antes el segundo canto.¹⁸

The fruits of Milton's influence on Meléndez Valdés may be seen in the poem *La Caída de Luzbel*, which in parts is a close imitation of portions of *Paradise Lost*, chiefly in the first book of that epic. Meléndez' verses are in rimed octaves—and the rimed octave is not a medium calculated to convey into another language the loftiness of Milton's verse which Meléndez so much admired.¹⁹ The final couplet, of debatable merit even in the *Faerie Queene*, is particularly unhappy here:

Dí, Musa celestial, de donde pudo
Subir de Dios al trono luminoso
La atroz discordia, de Luzbel el crudo
Infiel tumulto, el brazo poderoso
Que su frente postró, cuando sañudo
Fijar quiso triunfante y orgulloso
Junto a la silla de Jehová su silla,
Negándose a doblarle la rodilla.²⁰

It would throw this article out of all proportion to discuss in it how far the author of *La Caída de Luzbel* is indebted to Milton,

¹⁸ Letter of Aug. 14, 1778, reprinted in Cueto's *Historia crítica de la poesía castellana en el siglo XVIII*, 3d ed., 1893, III, pp. 76 ff. Only the gist of Meléndez' criticism is here quoted.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 83. "Las *Lusiadas* me han agradado mucho, aunque también, por otra parte, no hallo en ellas ni la fuerza de Ercilla, ni la alteza de Milton. . . ."

²⁰ These are the opening lines. The poem, it may be added, bears no express reference to Milton or to *Paradise Lost*, nor is it avowedly an imitation.

and which, if any, of the merits of *Paradise Lost* that poem may be said to possess. To establish the indebtedness of Meléndez to Milton, which is all that is now in question, one needs only to quote a few passages here and there: the opening invocation to the Holy Spirit:

Tú, Espíritu de Dios . . .
Vén fácil, vén, que con tu auxilio espero,
Si es mortal voz a tanto poderosa,
Las venganzas decir del Invencible,
Y del Soberbio el precipicio horrible.

the arrogant and haughty speech of Lucifer, beginning:

¡Otro ser sobre mí! ¡leyes tan duras
Sufrirá mi nobleza! ¡colocarse
La baja humanidad sobre las puras,
Angélicas substancias!

the description of Lucifer's ambition:

Quiso en sus ricos dones deslumbrado
Luzbel al monte del Señor subirse;
Y allí en silla de luz ante él sentado
Con su inmenso Hacedor loco medirse.

and (later in the poem) an enumeration of the evil spirits,²¹ condensed from that of Milton:

De otra parte Moloch está, horroroso,
Biforme, en sangre tinto, en la montaña
Creyéndose de Dios frente al glorioso
Solio, Dagon de su tremenda saña
Triste ejemplo, Phegor torpe, asqueroso,
Remmon y Belial que le acompaña,
Espíritu sin ley, protervo, osado,
A Luzbel cercan de uno y otro lado.

²¹ In the description of these, Meléndez translates from Milton:

Though of their names in heav'nly records now
Be no memorial, blotted out and ras'd
By their rebellion from the books of life.

Del libro santo, de la vida fueron
Con sentencia justísima, inmutable
Arrancados sus nombres.

Juan Nicasio Gallego, though he was sufficiently open to northern influences to translate Arnault's tragedy *Oscar*,²² never, so far as we know, attempted a translation of Milton. That he greatly admired him, however, is clear from the tribute which he pays him in an Epistle to the Conde de Haro ("animándole al ejercicio y buen uso de la poesía")—a kind of *Ars Poética* in little, dated June 12, 1807:

¿Y dónde, dónde,
Soberano cantor, la magia hallaste
Que me arrebatara así? ¿Quién los colores,
Milton sublime, y las etéreas luces,
Con que el Arcángel esplendente brilla,
Dió a tu pincel? ¿Cuál fuerza a los cerrojos
Del malogrado Edén el diamantino
Sello alzó para ti?"

It is hardly necessary here to do more than refer to the events which led up to the publication of Reinoso's famous poem *La Inocencia Perdida*, since much has already been written of both the antecedents and the results of that work.²⁴ Probably the extent to which notable Spanish writers had been influenced by Milton was the reason which underlay the proposal by the Academia de Letras Humanas of a subject for its competition so evidently inspired by him as "La caída de nuestros primeros padres." Neither Reinoso nor Lista had Milton's gifts, Milton's temperament or Milton's opportunities. They nevertheless produced laudable enough poems; Quintana's censure of the subject in his judgment on the successful, and on the whole better one, was, as is well known, based not on its intrinsic demerits, but on strictures of Boileau which Spanish preceptists had not by any means generally endorsed. The fact that the dimensions of *La Inocencia Perdida* were necessarily much smaller than *Paradise Lost* was against it, even had Reinoso been a second Milton. For the present

²² See "The Influence of Ossian in Spain," in *Philological Quarterly*, iv, 121 ff.

²³ *Obras poéticas de Don Juan Nicasio Gallego* . . . Madrid 1854, p. 97.

²⁴ E. g., Menéndez y Pelayo: *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, ed. cit., vi, 163 ff. and *passim*; Cueto, *Historia crítica de la poesía castellana en el siglo XVIII*, 3a. edición, 1893, ii, 125 ff. The periodicals concerned (*Variedades de ciencias, literatura y artes*, 1803-5 and *Correo literario y económico de Sevilla*) are also easily accessible in Spain.

study, however, the principal interest of the controversy is in the articles of Quintana and Blanco White. The latter, who possessed more of Milton's spirit, and understood it better, than most of his contemporaries, defended the theme of *Paradise Lost* with vigour; Quintana's judgment is noteworthy for the interest which its directness provoked and as an example of how Milton could appear, and no doubt did appear, to many, in Spain who read him: "más bien que un poeta émulo de Homero, un catedrático que explica lecciones de teología."

III

Following the Reinoso-Lista poems, there came in close succession, early in the nineteenth century, two translations of *Paradise Lost* by minor writers, Benito Ramón de Hermida, and Juan de Escoíquiz, which were destined to be better known perhaps than they deserved.²⁵ Both of these were published at about the same time, during the stormiest epoch of the nineteenth century in Spain: it would seem that they derived a certain degree of popularity from the fact that their authors were in rival political as well as literary camps. No doubt the events of the War of Independence, which brought Spain and England so closely together, were partly responsible for the surprising fact that at such a time two translations of a poem like *Paradise Lost* could be published and read, but no explanation can make the fact less surprising.

In all probability the first of the two versions to be written was Hermida's, but although it was completed in 1807, the author would not allow it to be published during his lifetime.²⁶ He died at Madrid on Feb. 1, 1814, and his daughter immediately sent it

²⁵ One or the other is mentioned frequently during the nineteenth century. See, for example, Mascaró's translation (referred to below), p. 181.

Dos son las traducciones en verso castellano que conozco: la una de D. Benito Ramón de Hermida, dada a luz por su hija la marquesa de Santa Coloma, y la otra de D. J. de Escoíquiz arcediano de Alcaraz y canónigo de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo, esta última sumamente ampliada por el traductor.

²⁶ In two volumes, pp. 287 and 276. The title-page of the first volume reads: El Paraíso Perdido | de J. Milton, | poema inglés, | traducido al castellano | por el Excelentísimo Señor | D. Benito Ramón de Hermida, | y dado a luz | por su hija | la Marquesa de Santa Coloma. Tomo I | Madrid | Imprenta de Ibarra | 1814. |

to the press, so that it appeared in the same year. Her haste may have been caused by the appearance of Escoiquiz' more inflated and important-looking translation in the meantime, for she is very careful to depreciate this in her preface:

Habiéndose publicado otra traducción del Paraíso Perdido al tiempo mismo que ésta, y siendo aquella voluminosa y ésta pequeña, lo que podrá dar lugar a imaginarla incompleta, se previene que la concisión que se advierte, consiste en que no tiene tantas notas ni tanto prólogo, y está impresa sin lujo, y en que su exactitud es tan escrupulosa, que consta casi del mismo número de versos que el original de Milton.²⁷

Hermida was an avowed enemy of Godoy, the result of which was that the latter years of his life were troubled in the extreme. The translation in question, however, was made during a period of enforced retirement, which ended with the events of 1808, spent in Zaragoza where, so the preface of his version tells us, he took to writing, "para descansar de los áridos trabajos de la magistratura": he was a man "incapable of idleness." Written in these circumstances by one who was over seventy years of age, the translation must be lightly judged, which is just as well, for it is not a worthy one. Hermida fondly believed that his anti-Gallic fervour was in itself a qualification for the translation of *Paradise Lost*, and apostrophised the poem thus:

Creo que un ánimo español no prevenido de las ideas francesas, ni engañado por sus sofismas religiosas, es el más propio para trasladarte a su lengua.

Such fervour he certainly had, with the prejudices pertaining to it:

Los franceses . . . no consultan sus fuerzas y a todo se atreven: mil traducciones del Paraíso Perdido no han producido una cabal.

But his dedication of the version to the "shades of Milton," a quaint mixture of poetic language and prosaic matter, is sufficient proof that he lacked the essentials for his task. His translation is

²⁷ *Ibid.*: "Nota de la editora." It is not impossible, though only an inference, that the father may himself have decided to publish his translation when he heard of Escoiquiz', and that it was already prepared for the press at the time of his death. My reason for supposing this is that though the translation was made in 1807, when the author was in his seventy-first year, the preface was written, according to his own statement, when he was 77, *i. e.* in 1813.

clumsy, both in diction and in metre, and his attempts at conciseness are far less successful than Jovellanos'. It will be sufficient to quote the first eight lines of the poem:

La primer culpa y vil desobediencia
 Con que el hombre a su Dios le faltó ingrato,
 Fué el fruto de aquel árbol, que gustado
 Introdujo en el mundo con la muerte,
 Nuestras cuitas, miserias y los males,
 La pérdida del Edén ocasionando,
 Hasta que un mayor hombre nos restaura,
 Tan venturoso asiento recobrando.

Menéndez y Pelayo, who mentions the translations of Hermida and Escoiquiz in two lines, giving no details about either, considers that the latter version is far inferior to the former.²⁸ Whether this judgment is based upon study of the translations or, as one would be inclined to suspect, upon a general estimate of the two authors, not uninfluenced by political bias, is uncertain. I am bound to say that the comparison of a number of parallel passages leads me to decide in favour of Escoiquiz. It is true that the author was an evil genius—or, as some would put it, a devoted and faithful counsellor—of Fernando VII, whose tutor he had been, a reactionary, an associate of Godoy, intriguing with Napoleon, and as a consequence dying in exile (1820). It is equally true that, coming to his translation,²⁹ we find it to be long drawn out, bombastic and inflated in style, unduly influenced by French translations, often perverting his original³⁰ and adding to it where Hermida is rather inclined to suppress. Nevertheless, Escoiquiz seems to have some ear for the "organ-voice" of Milton; his paragraphs of verse have occasionally something of the grandeur of

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, VI, 89: "Hermida y Escoiquiz [vertieron] todo el poema, menos infelizmente el primero que el segundo, pésimo y desmayado versificador, de tan mala memoria en las letras como en la política."

²⁹ *Paraiso Perdido*, | Poema | de Milton, | traducido en verso castellano; | por | Don J. de Escoiquiz, | Arcediano de Alcaraz, y Canonigo de la Santa | Iglesia de Toledo, etc. etc. | Tomo primero | J. B. C. S. | en la imprenta de J. B. C. Souchois. | En Bourges, | en casa de Gilles, librero. | Año de 1812. 3 vol. The version is preceded by a preface by Escoiquiz and by a translation of Addison's notes.

³⁰ Examples of this are cited by Juan Mateos in the preface to his translation of *Paradise Lost* (Barcelona, 1914, pp. 17-18).

those of the English poet, and his rendering, if only too typically pre-Romantic, sometimes betrays the poetical imagination. It is worth noting that this view seems to be confirmed by the fact that Escoíquiz' version was re-issued in an *édition de luxe*,²¹ while Hermida's appears never to have been re-issued at all.

A comparison of the passage below with Hermida's opening lines will possibly be of interest:

Del primer hombre la desobediencia
Canto, y la fatal fruta del vedado
Arbol, cuyo bocado,
Desterrando del mundo la inocencia,
Dió entrada a los dolores y a la muerte,
Y nos hizo perder el paraíso;
Hasta que el Hijo del Eterno quiso,
Lleno de amor, bajar a nuestro suelo,
Hacerse hombre, y volver con brazo fuerte,
A abrir las puertas del cerrado cielo.

Tú sobre todo, Espíritu fecundo,
Que de un corazón puro la morada
Prefieres, a los templos más suntuosos;
Tú, que el abismo lóbrego y profundo,
Que cuando nació el orbe de la nada
Le envolvía en sus velos tenebrosos,
Con tu calor divino fomentaste,
Tus benéficas alas extendiendo
Sobre él, y a producir le preparaste;
Pues que nada se oculta a tu alta ciencia,
Descúbreme benigno, el ignorado
Orden de los sucesos, que pretendo
Cantar, hasta que llegue al deseado
Fin de hacer ver la sabia providencia
De Dios, y los decretos soberanos,
Justos, con que gobierna a los humanos.

IV

During the very brief period in which Romanticism may be said with propriety to have reigned in Spain, we hear very little of

²¹ Milton | El | Paraíso Perdido | Traducido en verso | por D. J. de Escoíquiz | precedida | de una sucinta biografía de Milton por Lamartine | y de un estudio histórico y literario acerca del mismo por Chateaubriand | traducidos aquella y este | por D. Juan Cortada | Barcelona, París y Madrid, 1862. |

Milton. Only now and then do we find his name dragged into arguments as a synonym for classicism.³² But in the year 1849, by which time the anti-Romantic reaction was beginning, a significant article appears in the *Pensamiento* of Madrid (II, 65-6, 73), entitled "Milton: su época: sus obras." This article, which is anonymous, gives an account of Milton's life, and a short description and estimate of *Paradise Lost*. The interesting points about it are that no other of Milton's works is discussed (*Paradise Regained* only is mentioned, under the awkward title of *Paraíso vuelto a hallar*) and that there is no suggestion that the poet has influenced any other Spanish writer of that or of any preceding epoch; he is written of quite as a "stranger." This entirely bears out the conclusions which we have already drawn.

Though there is no ground for more than the suspicion, we may suspect that this article was inspired by the appearance in the same year (1849) of a new translation of *Paradise Lost*, this time into prose, by one Saura Mascaró.³³ The aim of this translation, which includes an account of Milton's life and works, is to provide, not a free rendering in verse, but a literal translation by the aid of which the reader may, if he so desires, follow the original text.³⁴ This, he says, was not the aim of either Hermida or Escoíquiz—and here he adds an estimate of their work which it is of interest to compare with those already quoted—nor can he himself always realise it, since the genius of the English language is so much unlike that of Spanish. He does his best, however, to give a really adequate rendering of the poem by adding explanatory notes wherever he finds it impossible to translate literally:

Hasta ahora no teníamos en España, al menos que yo sepa, ninguna traducción literal en prosa del *Paraíso perdido*. Las dos que he citado, únicas que conozco, están en verso. . . . Uno de los citados traductores, por razones particulares, se permitió cercenar algunas veces y ampliar

³² Notably at a stormy period, in the *Liceo artístico y literario español*, 1838, II, 5.

³³ El | *Paraíso Perdido*, | Poema | escrito en inglés | por | J. Milton, | traducido al castellano | por | D. Santiago Angel Saura Mascaró. | Tomo I | Barcelona: | Librería de E. Pujal, Calle Ancha no. 77. | 1849. | 2 vol., pp. 266 and 304.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 27: "una versión tan fiel del original, que cualquiera pudiera seguir el texto línea por línea, palabra por palabra."

muchas, algunos de los pasajes más o menos interesantes del Poema; más fiel el otro, ha suprimido también sin embargo, algunos trozos cuya versión consideró inoportuna en su tiempo, y uno y otro han saltado por muchas de las dificultades que ofrece la traducción de este libro; de modo que, hasta el presente, se puede decir no teníamos una traducción fiel y exacta de este tan celebrado poema."²⁵

After the date of this edition there is very little of interest to record and nothing of any importance. In 1865, the *Abeja* of Barcelona published, without commentary, a prose translation of the Nativity Ode:

El Mesías apareció sobre la tierra. . . . Dichoso invierno, tú le viste nacer . . . ¡Cruel, debilita tus rigores! . . . El Niño-Dios sólo ha tenido un pesebre por cuna. . . . La naturaleza despojada de los oropeles de su regocijo semeja a la desnudez de su Señor. El sol apenas le dirige sus hermosas miradas."²⁶

Apart from this, the only signs of Milton's influence in Spain are in translations, and these certainly prove that he has been read during the last seventy years, though he seems to have had no effect upon modern Spanish literature.

Since Saura Mascaró's translation of *Paradise Lost* was published, many others have appeared, most of them between 1870 and 1890. Setting aside the re-edition of Escoíquiz' translation, already mentioned, a translation by Cayetano Rosell in one volume appeared in 1873 (Barcelona, Montaner y Simón) with illustrations by Doré. Five years previously a prose translation by Dionisio Sanjuan, with notes and a brief biography, had appeared in Barcelona; a second edition of this was published, also in Barcelona, in 1883.²⁷ In 1873 what is substantially the same translation, preceded by the same biography and accompanied by the same notes, had appeared from the house of Jané, Barcelona, as the translation of "D. Demetrio San Martín," and in 1882 Calleja reprinted this in Madrid. In 1882 also a new two-volume edition of Escoíquiz' translation (Madrid, Luis Navarro) appeared, and in 1886 came out a re-edition by Montaner y Simón. Meanwhile a

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

²⁶ Vol. v, p. 360: "La Fiesta de Navidad. Traducción del inglés por J. Fernández Matheu."

²⁷ In the series *Los Grandes Poemas: Joyas de la literatura universal* (Barcelona: La Ilustración).

prose version based on Escoiquiz had been published at Barcelona (Biblioteca Salvatella), with illustrations inspired by Doré's, and in the course of a few years this went into three editions. A new prose translation appeared as recently as 1914.²⁸

This summary enumeration shows how amply Milton's genius has been recognised in Spain during the last half century, though it is as unlikely as ever to influence, in the least profoundly, a country which has so little sympathy with the England of the Commonwealth.

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²⁸ *El Paraíso Perdido. Traducción literal con biografía, prólogo y notas de Juan Mateos, Pbro.* Barcelona, Editorial Ibérica, 1914.

TWO PHILOSOPHIC OBSERVATIONS UPON DENIS SAURAT'S *MILTON: MAN AND THINKER*¹

By T. V. SMITH

There are two main theses in Professor Saurat's treatment of Milton's thought-system that excite my philosophic interest. The first is his conversion of Milton's theology into nineteenth-century idealism.² To this thesis I react favorably. The second is his discovery in Milton of a conception of the universe that is (thinks he) "in full harmony with the views of science."³ To this I react unfavorably.

I

A percentage of error is involved in any attempt to equate an earlier and simpler thought-system with a later and more fully developed one; but in this case the percentage is small, particularly in view of the three packed and pregnant centuries separating Milton and Hegel. My reasons for approving this conversion can be stated in the large with brevity. There is, first of all, historical continuity between Milton and Hegel. Nineteenth-century idealism was distinctly religious in its import. This philosophy that swept the whole Anglo-Saxon world in the last century arose as such with Immanuel Kant in the eighteenth century. Kant very frankly set out from a religious base to attain a religious objective. The three great values of Milton's time—of the whole Christian era—are God, freedom, and immortality. These Kant called upon reason to produce; and when reason fell under the terrible strain, Kant put up over the grave which his own hands had dug the epitaph: *Reason died that faith might live*. The king is dead; long live Mussolini! Philosophical idealism has remained the best Christian apologetic. Like Milton, it has worked with some freedom, even with audacity; but the abiding similarity is manifest in the difficulty of distinguishing Idealism's Absolute from Milton's Deity.

But in addition to this historical continuity between Milton and

¹ The Dial Press, New York, 1925.

² Summarized, p. 200.

³ Formulated most concisely, pp. 198-9.

Hegelianism, there is sufficient logical similarity to justify Saurat's parallelism. Both put the center of reality outside human experience. The heart of life's meaningfulness lies beyond life itself,¹ and the significance of the human enterprise has somehow to be deduced from the transcendental. And so both of them have as their central problem the relation between the super-human whole and the human parts. In both also in the last analysis the problem takes the same form: it is the problem of evil. The spirit of the whole is the touchstone of value; finitude is infected with evil. How can the existence of the latter be reconciled with the all-pervasiveness of the former? However their answers may have differed in detail, both Milton and the Idealists faced this problem in the same spirit. Our own Josiah Royce in America was typical of both, in his heroic life-long struggle to reconcile the Absolute which he would not give up and man whom he could not desert.

But even more than in historical continuity and in logical similarity, Milton and the Idealists were at one in their motivation and method. Thrown alike into a world of incessant change, with all the hazards made thus inevitable to human values, both, with challenging naïveté, achieved permanence and security simply by attributing these desiderata to the objects created by desire. In other words, they are alike in their motivation to make eternal the changing values of life, and in their effort to do this by building of the fabric of desires themselves their proper objects, and then by projecting these objects as guarantees of what human life holds dear but finds impermanent. This is the "pathetic fallacy" written into philosophy on a colossal scale after having served as the basis for Miltonic theology. This is no mere Idol of the Cave for Milton and Hegel; it is veritably the Idol of our whole Human Tribe. Those who detect and avoid the fallacy have come into the maturity of science; the rest of us falter and fall in the dark trenches of theology or in the intervening "no man's land" of a philosophy that has the will, but lacks the wit, to be free. But already I am crossing the threshold of my second observation.

II

After reading Saurat's arguments I am prepared to believe, until discussion instructs me better, that Matter was with Milton a much

elaborated philosophic category. I cannot wholly avoid the suspicion, however, that Saurat has worked out the point better than had Milton; but the sources certainly seem to indicate that Milton held the notion that Saurat so lucidly presents. And it is undoubtedly the mark of a bold mind in Christendom, and a powerful one, to have fused with his theology (as Saurat puts it) "the idea of Matter as good, imperishable and divine, a part of God himself from which all things issue spontaneously; so that there is no soul, and all beings are parts of God, arranged on an evolutionary scheme."⁴ But even so, to see in this a scientific conception even "in germ" is to use the term "germ" in about the same sense that diplomats use the term "principle" when under its unifying cover they agree to disagree.

William James describes the scientist as "tough-minded"; that is, the scientist seeks the facts of life and is willing to follow wherever they lead. Moreover, he starts with a minimum of assumptions, and these he makes explicit. He frees himself of hope, except that of finding out the facts. Over against the scientist, is (to use James's further phrase) the "tender-minded" man. He wants facts, but they must support prior conclusions. Hope is his guide, and desire his support. If the world that he finds is not such as he wants, he calls it error, and the projections of his own imagination he names reality. Tender minds can be speculatively bold as long as they are under cover. "Let justice be done though the heavens fall!" What moral conviction is suggested by this heroic resolution! But when it is discovered that behind the scenes it is already arranged so that the heavens cannot fall, that indeed the doing of justice is the very way to uphold them, then indeed is this mighty moral Falstaff punctured.

Now the "germ" of science that Saurat unveils in Milton is precisely of this sort. Milton has materialism in his system; science is materialistic; therefore, Milton is a precursor of modern science and encompasses evolution in germ! Language, like politics, makes strange bedfellows! Materialism as it applies to evolutionary science implies an eternal process. A first cause, conceived as lying back of the chemical-physical processes that make

⁴ Page 199.

our world, is suspect to a scientific mind. Building upon the principle of parsimony, the scientist believes that the only way to get a first cause is to have it cause itself; and that verbal legerdemain may be made to occur early as well as late. So, the scientist holds, the universe that we know caused itself; and that is an end as satisfactory as the other; for the process of causation is ended for both, if it ends at all, by fatigue, not by logic. The chief difference on this point is that the scientist ends causation before he gets tired; the theologian only after he is exhausted. Dissect the matter of science, and you will find molecules and atoms, electrons and ions. Scratch the surface of Milton's materialism, and you will discover a first cause.

This contrast of content is equally true of motivation. If man's body is mere matter and if he has no soul, then he has no immortality. But Milton does not reach this conclusion. Why does he not? Because he has loaded the dice before the cosmic game begins. God will not allow such an outcome, such a defeat of human hopes. Milton is bold to proclaim materialism only because he has a resurrection to rob materialism of its significance. He burns down this earthly house of his tabernacle only after he has taken out celestial insurance. In him is lacking the spirit of the scientist who follows the gleam as long as he lasts and then in uncomplaining stoicism "banks his fires for the eternal night."

I am not disputing that there is ingenuity in Milton's materialism, but only that it has any significant kinship with modern science. Milton starts with God, deduces therefrom a spiritualized matter, evolves from the latter complete death, and then saves the drama from tragedy only a minute before the final curtain by a *tour de force*—the resurrection. In short, Milton, perhaps rationalizing, as Saurat suggests, his marital debacle, moralizes the flesh by discovering it to be divine materialism sloughed off by God. Flesh is thus sufficiently isolated from deity as to allow it some freedom to disport itself, but sufficiently beloved of deity to be saved after its hour of lust.⁵ These suggestions as to its motivation make it evident that Milton's science was but child's play science.

⁵ See Saurat's Appendix A, in which it is argued that Milton's blindness was due to syphilis, in all probability inherited from his father.

III

It will be seen that my approval and my disapproval of Saurat proceed from a common point. Milton is an earlier, simpler edition of nineteenth-century Idealism because of common motivation and similar achievements. That is to say, they both ontologize desire: they believe the universe to be what they want it to be without any adequate reason for so believing. The wish that is father to all our thought becomes grandfather to their cosmology. But precisely because Milton is brother to the idealist he cannot be the precursor of evolutionary science. The scientific mind and method is the opposite of that described. Perhaps the nearest Milton ever came to science, as we understand that word, was when, destined to be blind, he visited blind Galileo in jail. It will be seen, of course, that I am in no sense reflecting on Milton, but that I am criticizing Saurat's analyses of Milton's idea-system.

Had Milton treated his material—God and his ways—as Saurat treats his material—Milton and his ways—he would have deserved the appellation of scientific. I think that Saurat does not adequately emphasize Milton's childhood, and certainly he does not in dealing with Milton's later life exploit to the full the now available technique of analytic psychology. But his method is scientific, though not exhaustive: scientific in that it begins with no uncriticized prepossessions; scientific in that it sees that personality develops out of early impulses, emotional conflicts; scientific in that it notes sexual traumata as of central importance in repressed personalities; scientific in that it sees poetry and all art not as fugitive words and symbols caught from celestial whisperings but as natural phenomena; scientific in that it reconstructs Milton in his age and thus generates for us out of the valley of death a living, breathing, robust fellow-mortal—John Milton.

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SHAKSPERE AND MILTON AGAIN

BY GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

In his recent article, "The Shaksperian Element in Milton,"¹ Alwin Thaler, by his systematic assembling of the results of his own investigations and those of scholars preceding him, notable among whom is Hanford,² makes it for the first time easily possible for one to get a comprehensive impression of the nature and extent of Milton's indebtedness to Shakspeare. It is particularly fortunate that Shakspeare's claims to influence should be emphasized just at this time when many other literary influences are being urged, with a tendency, as each influence is unearthed, to emphasize each in turn as the main formative influence upon Milton. Doubtless a fairly strong case could be made for the Classical, Mediæval, Renaissance, and Modern province of letters as the large formative factor in *Paradise Lost*, so astonishingly wide was the range and infinite the variety of England's most scholarly and learned poet, and so retentive his memory. Doubtless the preferred creditors against the Milton literary estate would be at least a dozen. Thaler is therefore decidedly to be commended for confining the certainty of his conclusions to the reminiscent effect of Shakspeare upon Milton, and for merely throwing out in the form of a suggestion the probability of his influence upon Milton in regard to matters structural and formative.

As the writer of the present article had been engaged in much the same task before this work appeared, it is perhaps only natural to print what survives the wreckage of his work by the appearance of "The Shaksperian Element in Milton." This article contributes some thirty odd³ passages from Shakspeare which are possibly echoed in Milton, in addition to those already pointed out by other scholars. The present paper will contribute about as many more, will attempt also a restatement of the case for Shakspeare made necessary by the additional citations, and will seek through the

¹ *PMLA.*, Vol. XI, pp. 645 ff.

² "The Dramatic Element in *Paradise Lost*," *Studies in Philology*, Vol. XIV, pp. 178 ff.

³ After deducting from his list certain citations already made by R. C. Browne, *English Poems by John Milton*, Clarendon Press, 1897.

theory of an increasing rather than diminishing influence of Shakspere on Milton to account in part for the form of *Samson Agonistes* for which there seems to be no accounting according to those critics who have followed Johnson ever since he let fall his unfortunate dictum concerning the presence of a beginning and end but the absence of a middle in this tragedy.

Midsummer Night's Dream, v, 1,
408-13:

Now, until the break of day,
Through this house each *faery* stray.
To the best bride-bed will we,
Which by us shall *blessed* be;
And the issue there create
Ever shall be fortunate.

Every *faery* take his *gait*
And each several *chamber* bless,
Through this palace, with sweet
peace;
And the *owner* of it *blest*
Ever shall in safety rest.
Trip away; make no stay.

Hamlet, I, 2, 158-164:

Some say that ever 'gainst that sea-
son comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is cele-
brated,
The bird of dawning singeth *all*
night long;
And then, they say, *no spirit can*
walk abroad;
The nights are wholesome; then no
planets strike,
No faery takes, nor witch hath
power to charm,
So hallow'd and so gracious is the
time.

Antony and Cleopatra, II, 4, 216-223: *Comus*, 555-560:

From the barge

A *strange invisible perfume hits the*
sense
Of the adjacent wharfs. The city
cast

Vacation Exercise, (1628), 59-66:

Good luck befriend thee, son; for at
thy birth
The *faery ladies* danced upon the
hearth.
The drowsy nurse hath sworn she
did them spy
Come *tripping* to the room where
thou didst lie,
And sweetly singing round about
thy bed,
Strew all their *blessings* on thy
sleeping head.
She heard them give thee this, that
thou shouldst still
From eyes of mortals walk invisible.

Comus, 432-437:

Some say no evil thing that walks
by night,
In fog or fire, by lake or moorish
fen,
Blue meagre hag, or stubborn unlaid
ghost,
That breaks his magic chains at
curfew time,
No goblin or swart *faery* of the
mine,
Hath hurtful power o'er true vir-
ginity.

At last a soft and solemn-breathing
sound
Rose like a *steam of rich distilled*
perfumes,

Her people out upon her; and An-
 tony
 Enthron'd i' the market-place, did
 sit alone,
 Whistling to the *air*, which, but
 for *vacancy*,
 Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too
 And made a gap in nature.

King Lear, III, 1, 4-9:

Contending with the fretful ele-
 ments;
 Bids the wind blow the earth into
 the sea,
 Or swell the curled waters 'bove the
 main,
 That things might change or cease;
 tears his white hair,
 Which the *impetuous blasts*, with
 eyeless rage,
 Catch in their fury and make noth-
 ing of;

I Henry Fourth, I, 3, 59-62:

And that it was great pity, so it
 was,
 This villanous salt-petre should be
 digg'd
 Out of the bowels of the harmless
 earth,
 Which many a good tall fellow had
 destroy'd.*

Lear, III, 2, 1-6:

Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks!
 Rage! Blow!
 You *cataracts* and hurricanoes,
 spout
 Till you have drench'd our steeples,
 drown'd the cocks!
 You sulphurous and thought-exe-
 cuting fires,
 Vaunt-couriers of oak-cleaving
 thunderbolts,
 Singe my white head!

And *stole upon the air*, that even
 silence

Was took ere she was ware, and
 wished she might
 Deny her *nature*, and be never
 more,
 Still to be so *displaced*.

Paradise Lost, I, 174-5:

. . . and the thunder
 Winged with red lightning and
impetuous rage,

Paradise Lost, I, 686-688:

. . . , and with impious hands
 Riff'd the bowels of their mother
 Earth
 For treasures better hid.

Paradise Lost, II, 174-178:

. . . What if all
 Her stores were opened, and this
 firmament
 Of Hell should spout her *cataracts*
 of fire,
 Impendent horrors, threatening hi-
 deous fall
 One day upon our heads;

* Note in both passages the singular antipathy to digging into the earth
 for materials of war.

Coriolanus, iv, 5, 66-68:

Coriolanus

. . . , and thy face
Bears a command in 't; *though thy
tackle's torn,*
Thou show'st a noble vessel.⁴

Richard Third, v, 3, 182-186:

What! do I fear myself? There's
none else by.
Richard loves Richard; that is, I
am I.
Is there a murderer here? No? Yes,
I am.
Then fly. What from myself?
Great reason why,
Lest I revenge. What, myself upon
myself?

Macbeth, v, 8, 8-12:

Thou loest labour.
*As easy mayst thou the intrenchant
air*
*With thy keen sword impress as
make me bleed.*
Let fall thy blade on vulnerable
crests;
I bear a charmed life,

As You Like It, ii, 1, 5-11:

Here feel we not *the penalty of
Adam,*
*The seasons' difference, as the icy
fang*
And churlish chidings of the win-
ter's wind,
Which when it bites and blows upon
my body,
Even till I *shrink with cold*, I smile
and say,
"This is no flattery; these are coun-
sellors
That feelingly persuade me what I
am."

Paradise Lost, ii, 1043-1044:

Satan

And, like a weather-beaten vessel,
holds
Gladly the port, *though shrouds
and tackle torn;*

Paradise Lost, iv, 20-22, 75:

. . . for within him Hell
He brings, and round about him,
nor from Hell
One step, *no more than from him-
self, can fly*
By change of place.
. . .
*Which way I fly is Hell; myself
am Hell.*

Paradise Lost, vi, 344-349:

. . . for Spirits, that live through-
out
Vital in every part—not, as frail
Man,
In entrails, heart or head, liver or
reins—
Cannot but by annihilating die;
*Nor in their liquid texture mortal
wound*
*Receive, no more than can the fluid
air.*

Paradise Lost, x, 677-96, 736:

. . . to bring in change
Of seasons to each clime. Else had
the spring
Perpetual smiled on Earth with
vernal flowers . . .
Avoided *pinching cold* . . .
These changes . . . slow, produced
Vapour, and mist, and exhalation
hot,
Corrupt and pestilent . . .
For this we may thank Adam.

Measure for Measure, III, 1, 83-85,
118-21:

If I must die,
I will encounter darkness as a bride,
And hug it in mine arms. . .
Ay but to die, . . .
This sensible warm motion to be-
come
A kneaded clod.

Antony and Cleopatra, V, 2, 358-59:
She hath pursu'd onclusions infinite
Of easy ways to die.

Coriolanus, II, 2, 87-89:

It is held
That valour is the chiefest virtue,
and
Most dignifies the haver;

Antony and Cleopatra, I, v, 72:
My man of men.

Timon of Athens, I, 1, 37:
It [a piece of art] tutors nature.

Winter's Tale, IV, 4, 91:
Over that art, which you say adds
to nature, is an art that nature
makes.*

I Henry Fourth, IV, 3, 72-3:
Gave them their heirs as pages, fol-
lowed him
Even at the heels in golden multi-
tudes.

Much Ado About Nothing, V, 1, 38:
And made a push at chance and
sufferance.

Paradise Lost, X, 775-78:

. . . How gladly would I meet
Mortality, my sentence, and be
earth
Insensible! How glad would lay me
down
As in my mother's lap!

Paradise Lost, X, 1004-5:

[Eve] . . . and have the power
Of many ways to die the shortest
choosing,

Paradise Lost, XI, 691-96:

To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils with
infinite
Manslaughter, shall be held the
highest pitch
Of human glory, and, for glory done,
Of triumph to be styled great con-
querors,
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons
of gods—

Paradise Regained, I, 122:
This man of men . . .

Paradise Regained, II, 296:
. . . Nature taught Art,

Paradise Regained, II, 419-20:

What followers, what retinue canst
thou gain,
Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,

Paradise Regained, IV, 469-70:

. . . but wilt prolong
all to the push of fate,

* See *Faerie Queene*, II, 12, 59.

Romeo and Juliet, I, 4, 37:

For I am proverb'd with a grand-
sire phrase:

Antony and Cleopatra, v, 1, 51:

The miserable change now at my
end

Lament nor sorrow at;

Julius Caesar, iv, 1, 19-27:

And though we lay these honours
on this man

To ease ourselves of divers slander-
ous loads,

He shall but bear them as the ass
bears gold,

To groan and sweat under the busi-
ness,

Either led or driven, as we point
the way;

And *having brought our treasure
where we will,*

*Then take we down his load and
turn him off,*

*Like to the empty ass, to shake his
ears*

And graze in commons.

Othello, I, 1, 47-8:

Wears out his time, *much like his
master's ass,*

*For naught but provender, and
when he's old, cashier'd.*

Othello, III, 3, 330-33:

[*Of Othello's mental agony.*]

*Not poppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the
world*

*Shall ever medicine thee to that
sweet sleep*

Which thou ow'dst yesterday.

Samson Agonistes, 203:

Am I not sung and proverb'd for
a fool?

Samson Agonistes, 340-1:

O miserable change! Is this the
man,

That invincible Samson,

Samson Agonistes, 537-40:

*. . . who shorn me
Like a tame wether, all my precious
fleece,*

*Then turned me out ridiculous, de-
spoiled,*

*Shaven, and disarmed among my
enemies.*

Samson Agonistes, 626-31:

[*Of Samson's mental agony.*]

Dire inflammation, which no cooling
herb

*Or medicinal liquor can assuage,
Nor breath of vernal air from
snowy Alp.*

*Sleep hath forsook and given me o'er
To death's benumbing opium as my
only cure;*

*Thence faintings, swoonings of
despair,*

Timon of Athens, v, 2, 203-5:

... with other incident throes
That nature's fragile vessel doth
sustain

In life's uncertain voyage,

Romeo and Juliet, v, 3, 35:

By heaven, I will *tear thee joint by joint*

Troilus and Cressida, III, 2, 190-203:

Oressida.

Prophet may you be!

If I be *false*, or swerve a hair
from truth,

When time is old and hath forgot itself,

When waterdrops have worn the
stones of Troy,

And blind oblivion swallow'd ci-
ties up,

And mighty states characterless are
grated

To dusty nothing, yet *let memory,*
From false to false, *among false*

maids in love,
Upbraid my falsehood!

Troilus and Cressida, IV, 5, 230-33, 236-37:

Achilles.

I shall forestall thee, Lord Ulysses,
thou!

Now, Hector, I have fed mine eyes
on thee;

I have with exact view perus'd thee,
Hector,

And quoted *joint by joint* . . .

Thou art too brief. I will the second
time,

As I would buy thee, *view thee limb by limb.*

Samson Agonistes, 656:

All chances incident to man's frail
life,

Samson Agonistes, 952-3:

Not for thy life, lest fierce remem-
brance wake

My sudden rage to *tear thee joint by joint.*

Samson Agonistes, 955-7, 975-9:

Samson.

Bewail thy *falsehood*, and the pious
works

It hath brought forth to *make thee memorable*

Among illustrious women, faithful wives;

.

Dalila.

My name, perhaps, *among the Circumcised*

In Dan, in Judah, and the bordering
Tribes,

To all posterity may stand defamed,
With malediction mentioned, and the blot

Of falsehood most unconjugal tra-
duced.

Samson Agonistes, 1082-91:

Harapha.

Much I have heard

Of thy prodigious might and feats
performed,

Incredible to me, in this displeased,
That I was never present on the
place

Of those encounters, where we might
have tried

Each other's force in camp or listed
field;

And now am come to see of whom
such noise

Julius Caesar, II, 2, 60-68:

Caesar [sent for by the Senate.]
And you are come in very happy
time

To bear my greetings to the senators
And tell them that *I will not come*
today.

Cannot, is false, and that I dare
not, false;

I will not come today. Tell them
so, Decius.

Cal. Say he is sick.

Caes. Shall Caesar send a lie?
Have I in conquest stretch'd mine
arm so far,

To be afraid to tell graybeards the
truth?

Decius, go tell them *Caesar will not*
come.⁶

Hath walked about, and each limb
to survey,

If thy appearance answer loud re-
port.

Sams. The way to know were not
to see, but taste.

Samson Agonistes, 1332, 42:

Samson [sent for by the Chief Phil-
istines.]

Return the way thou cam'st; *I will*
not come.

Joined with extreme contempt!
I will not come.

It will be noticed that if the similarity of the passages cited above is of such nature as to convince one of Milton's use of Shaksperian phraseology, Thaler's conclusions will have to be somewhat modified. Among other things, it will no longer be necessary to throw *Much-A-Do* into the discard as a play not influencing Milton; it will be necessary to notice that *Troilus and Cressida*, with its

⁶I add the following similarities in the nature of mere phrasal agreements as distinguished from similarities in thought or situation and phrasing.

Romeo and Juliet, II, 2, 28:

. . . winged messenger . . .

Henry Fifth, III, Prologue 33:

. . . the devilish cannon . . .

King John, I, 214:

. . . practise to deceive,

Paradise Lost, III, 229:

. . . winged messengers,

Paradise Lost, III, 564:

. . . devilish engine [cannon?]

Paradise Lost, VI, 344-349:

. . . practised to deceive

classical theme however perverted, most obviously interested Milton immensely and affected him in an extraordinarily clear-cut and definite fashion; while in *Samson Agonistes*, important as offering the best opportunity for the study of the latest echoes of Shakspeare in Milton, is to be found more convincing evidence of Shaksperian reminiscence to the line than in anything else Milton wrote.⁷

Hanford and Thaler have already stated so effectively the nature of Shakspeare's influence upon Milton that it may seem superfluous to add more. There are matters besides, however, to which the attention of readers of Shakspeare and Milton should be directed.

In a purely reminiscent way, Shakspeare made more impression upon this the most reminiscent of English poets than did any other English writer. That, almost anyone will now be willing to concede. But in another, perhaps more important manner, Shakspeare affected Milton. As he drew further and further along his purposed epic way, the strain of adhering strictly to the epic form told more and more severely upon him. How to get variety grew increasingly to be his problem. And more and more in each book of *Paradise Lost*, as the subject matter of its own nature fails to keep itself aloft on the purely epic wing, Milton falls back upon the hundred and one dramatic devices and dramatic tricks-of-the-trade—monologues, dialogues, balanced groupings, throne settings, banishment threats, and other small structural units familiar to the student of the Elizabethan drama. In other words, Milton drew unceasingly upon Shakspeare for situations which in themselves compel attention, and learned from him, as Shakspeare learned from Kyd, their effectiveness for injecting fresh interest into a flagging theme. Discard all this, and one has left in *Paradise Lost* of unadulterated epic hardly more than the best and the worst portions of it, Satan's journey from Hell to Earth and back again to Hell, and his manœuvres against God's armies on the plains of Heaven. Following *Paradise Lost*, in *Paradise Regained*, the epic has become almost a closet drama dialogue.⁸ In the *Samson* at last the epic form is discarded for the out-and-out

⁷ The present paper cites as many passages from Shakspeare bearing directly on the *Samson Agonistes* as have heretofore collectively been cited.

⁸ William Vaughn Moody says: "Both are disguised dramas, the epic element being little else than expanded stage directions." *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton*, Student's Cambridge Edition, p. 249.

closet drama form. By the time Milton had come to the *Samson*, he had grown to be such an adept in handling the small and large units of dramatic structure in his own original quasi-dramatic fashion that he boldly built a play conforming strictly to neither the classical nor the Elizabethan form. If this be true, that Milton, steeped in Shakspeare as he unquestionably was, but never to the extent of accepting him as a dramatic model, had come to be accustomed to making use of him, as it were, piece-meal, one can readily understand how when he came to write his one avowedly dramatic piece, Milton-like, he began his drama where he chose, in this case a good way past the beginning point of the falling action of one of Shakspeare's tragedies; in this case also, at a point in Samson's life which corresponds almost exactly with the point at which Milton had arrived in his own life when he wrote the play. At just about the point where we find Antony, Macbeth, and Othello, having reached their culminal point, beginning their journey down the hill of fate, there we are introduced to Samson. And the last act of a Shaksperian tragedy is about what is presented in the whole of *Samson*, stretched out and expanded to dimensions never reached by any Elizabethan fifth act, but fifth act stuff, nevertheless. No other single instance of Shakspeare's influence upon Milton is so remarkable as his effect upon this play, which, if one can judge from his introduction to it, he designed theoretically on classic tragedy lines. The result of this meeting of classical theory and Elizabethan impulse in Milton is a dramatic form unlike anything else known to the drama. To borrow a figure from the biological field, *Samson Agonistes* as a dramatic form is a "sport." If this be true, much in the line of criticism from Johnson⁹ to Baum¹⁰ which has concerned itself with attempting to decide whether this play with a beginning and an end has a *middle* in the Aristotelian sense, measuring the last act of a Shaksperian tragedy with a five-act yardstick, is aside from the mark in spite of a thousand and one most excellent critical observations which have been incidentally struck off in the controversy.

To come to an end, Milton, who as a young man reacted so intensely to his reading of Shakspeare as to write as appreciative verse about him as was ever written, grew to care more for him as

⁹ *The Rambler*, No. 139.

¹⁰ *PMLA.*, Vol. xxvi, pp. 354 ff.

he lived, not according to his theories perhaps, but in fact. Shakspeare at the beginning of the *Merchant of Venice* and *Henry Fourth* never intended Shylock or Falstaff to get the bit in their teeth and run away with him. But they did, and so did Satan, in a dramatic way, with Milton. And so did Shakspeare in a dramatic way with Milton, all of his fine theories to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Shaksperian influence deepened with the years, and to the end doubtless Milton when reading his Shakspeare was "made marble with too much conceiving." As long as Milton lived and wrote poetry, Shakspeare had in him the finest of all the examples of what Milton himself called "a living monument."

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RECENT LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

BY HARDIN CRAIG

NOTE: The following bibliography attempts to include the more important books, articles, and reviews which appeared in the year ending January 1, 1926, together with the more noteworthy productions of 1924 and earlier recent years which have escaped the bibliographies by the late Professor Thornton Shirley Graves in the April numbers of this journal since 1922. These bibliographies are here referred to by the year in which they were published. The compiler has had slight assistance from several scholars, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged. Professor Walter L. Bullock of Bryn Mawr has supplied a number of items from the Italian field and has rendered generous assistance in other matters. Where his comments have been given, they have been marked (B). The work has been done with kind and admiring recollections of Professor Graves.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archiv = *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.*

Beiblatt = *Beiblatt zur Anglia.*

EHR = *English Historical Review.*

Eng. Rev. = *English Review.*

Eng. Stud. = *Englische Studien.*

JEGP = *Journal of English and Germanic Philology.*

Literaturblatt = *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie.*

LTS = *Literary Supplement to the London Times.*

MLN = *Modern Language Notes.*

MLR = *Modern Language Review.*

MP = *Modern Philology.*

N & Q = *Notes and Queries.*

PMLA = *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*

PQ = *Philological Quarterly.*

RES = *Review of English Studies.*

R du xvie S. = *Revue de seizième siècle.*

Rev. Ang. Am. = *Revue anglo-américaine.*

Rev. Lit. Comp. = *Revue de littérature comparée.*

SP = *Studies in Philology.*

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Burckhardt, Jacob. *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*. 14. Aufl. Durchges. v. Walter Goetz. Leipzig: Kröner, 1925. Pp. viii, 538.

Burdach, Konrad. *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*. *JEGP.*, xxiv, 1-32.

An article of great interest not only because of the sketch of Burdach's life-work as a student of the German literary language but also because of its presentation of the ideal of coöperative scholarship.

Burdach, Konrad. *Vorspiel. Gesammelte Schriften zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes*. I, 1. Das Mittelalter. I, 2. Reformation und Renaissance. Halle: Niemeyer, 1925. Pp. 400; xi, 282.

Byrne, Muriel St. Clare. *Elizabethan Handwriting for Beginners*. *RES.*, I, 198-209.

Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Edward VI. Two vols. Vol. I (1547-1548), Vol. II (1548-1549). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1924.

Rev. by J. E. Neale in *EHR.*, xl, 283-285. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 324.

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy. Vol. xxv, 1640-1642. Edited by Allen B. Hinds. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1925.

Rev. in *N & Q.*, Vol. 149, pp. 323-324.

Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Part XIV, Addenda. Historical Manuscripts Commission. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1923.

Rev. by Pierre Janelle in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, II, 335-336. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 452.

Catalogo dei cataloghi del libro italiano, 1923. Bologna: Società generale delle messaggieri italiane, 1925.

Chambers, Sir Edmund (ed.). *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.* Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. 144.

Rev. by Gustav Hübener in *Beiblatt*, xxxvi, 323-326; *N & Q*, Vol. 148, p. 144; *Library*, v, 385-386. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 287 under Seaton, Ethel; p. 308 under Wilson, J. Dover; p. 320 under Holmes, Elizabeth.

Chambers, R. W. *The "Spurred A."* *LTS.*, Aug. 27, 1925, p. 557; see also letter by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, *LTS.*, Sept. 17, 1925, p. 600; Sam'l A. Tannenbaum, *LTS.*, Sept. 24, 1925, p. 619, and *LTS.*, Oct. 22, 1925, p. 698; Sir George Greenwood, *LTS.*, Nov. 12, 1925, p. 756.

Cole, George Watson. *Bibliographical Pitfalls—Linked Books.* Papers of Bibliographical Society of America, Vol. XVIII, parts 1 and 2, pp. 12-30.

[Collijn, Isak.] *Bok- och bibliotekshistorika studier tillägnade Isak Collijn.* Upsala, 1925.

This volume contains a number of important articles on early printed books.

Cooper, Lane. *The Poetics of Aristotle: Its Meaning and Influence.* Our Debt to Greece and Rome, 6. New York: Jones, Marshall, 1923. Pp. x, 157.

Rev. in *Calif. Chron.*, xxvii, 323-324.

Summarizes the *Poetics* in forty-seven pages; then gives the fortunes of the work in antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and in recent times.

Crosse, Gordon. *The Religious Drama.* London: Mowbray, 1925. First published in 1913.

Dark, Sidney. *The Story of the Renaissance.* New York: Doran, 1924.

Rev. by René Pruvost in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, II, 344.

Dauids, William. *Verslag van een onderzoek betreffende de betrekkingen tusschen de Nederlandsche en de Spaansche letterkunde in de XVI-XVIII eeuw.* 'S-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1918. Pp. xii, 190.

de Maar, Harko G. *A History of Modern English Romanticism.* Vol. I. Elizabethan and Modern Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century. London: Humphrey Milford, 1925. Pp. xiii, 246.

Rev. in LTS., Jan. 8, 1925, p. 21; see Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 304; notice in Rev. Lit. Comp., v, 542; rev. by Bernhard Fehr in Beiblatt, XXXVI, 129-133; by L. Cazamian in Rev. Ang. Am., III, 72-74; notice in Contemp. Rev., CXXVII, 134-135.

Dougan, Alice M., and Joel, Bertha (eds.). *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.* Vol. VI, 1922-1924. New York: Wilson, 1925. Pp. 1906.

Early English Books from Zeals. Notes on Sales, LTS., Nov. 26, 1925, p. 816.

English Catalogue of Books for 1924: Giving in one Alphabet under Author and Title, the Size, Price, Month of Publication and Publisher of Books issued in the United Kingdom. London: Publishers' Circular, 1925.

Ernst, Fritz. *Der Klassizismus in Italien, Frankreich und Deutschland.* Zurich-Leipzig-Wien: Amalthea-Bucherei, 1924.

Treats classicism (the influence of the classics) as a wave passing slowly over Europe and reaching Germany only in the 18th century.

Ferrara, M. *Per la storia del proverbio nel sec. XVI.* Lucca: Tipografia editrice Lucchese, 1925.

A study of a popular theme of some significance to the student of comparative literature. (B)

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James. *Spanish Bibliography.* London: Milford, for Hispanic Society of America, 1925. Pp. 389.

Notice in Library, VI, 205; rev. by Ludwig Pfandl in Literaturblatt, XLVI, 308-309.

Frels, Wilhelm (ed.). *Die Jahresberichte des literarischen Zentralblattes über die wichtigsten wissenschaftlichen Neuerscheinungen des gesamten deutschen Sprachgebietes.* Jg. 1. Das Schriftum des Jahres 1924. Vols. I-XXIV. Leipzig: Verlag des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler, 1925.

Vol. I: Das Buch- und Schriftwesen, ed. Friedrich Michael.

Pp. 87. Vol. XI: Germanische Sprachen und Literaturen, ed. Wilhelm Frels. Pp. 195. Vol. XII: Englische und americanische Sprachen und Literaturen, ed. Egon Mühlbach. Romanische Sprachen und Literaturen, ed. Heinrich Wengler. Pp. 127. Vol. XV: Geschichte, ed. Johannes Hohlfeld und Siegfried Steinberg. Pp. 184.

Funck, M. *Le livre belge à gravures: guide de l'amateur de livres illustrés imprimés en Belgique avant le XVIIIe siècle.* Paris et Bruxelles: C. Van Oost, 1925. Pp. xiii, 428.

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. I, A-Al. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1925.

Giuseppi, M. S. *A Guide to the Manuscripts Preserved in the Public Record Office.* Vol. II. The State Papers and Records of Public Departments. H. M. Stationery Office, 1924.

Notice by H. H. E. C. in EHR., XL, 474-475; rev. by Pierre Janelle in Rev. Ang. Am., II, 264-265. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 274.

Godet, Marcel (ed.). *Index bibliographicus. Répertoire international des sources de bibliographie courante. (Périodiques et institutions.)* Geneva: S. A. Bentelli; Berne: Bump-litz, 1925.

Goulding, Philip Sanford. *Index to American Book-prices Current.* (1916-1922.) New York: Dutton, 1925. Pp. 1397.

Graves, Thornton S. *Recent Literature of the English Renaissance.* SP., XIX, 249-291; XX, 244-292; XXI, 403-465; XXII, 272-346.

Gray, George J. *Cambridge Bookselling, and the Oldest Bookshop in the United Kingdom.* Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1925. Pp. 35.

Notice in LTS., Sept. 10, 1925, p. 586.

Greg, W. W., and others. *English Literary Autographs. 1550-1650.* Part 1. Dramatists. Oxford University Press, 1925. 30 plates.

Haebler, Konrad. *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des 15. Jahrhunderts im Auslande.* München: Rosenthal, 1924.

Haebler, Konrad. *Geschichte des spanischen Frühdruckes in Stammbäumen.* Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1923. Pp. 446.

Rev. by V. Scholderer in Library, VI, 99-104.

Hain, Ludwig. *Repertorium bibliographicum, in libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur.* (Helioplandr. Vol. I, P. 1, 2. Vol. II, P. 1, 2. 2 Vol. in 4 P.) Berlin: Altmann. 1925. Pp. 596; IV, 563: 558; IV, 548.

Reprint of edition of 1826-1838. Lit. Zentr-bl., LXXVI (Apr. 15, 1925), 538 refers to Richard Brandeis, *Über Incunabelforschung u. ihre Hilfsmittel* in Zeitschr. für Bibliothekswesen, III (1914), 173-185, and to Erich von Rath, *Vorläufer des Gesamtkatalogs der Wiegendrucke in Werden und Wirken.* Festschrift für Hirsemann. Leipzig, 1924, 288-305.

Hake, Henry M. *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum.* Vol. VI. Supplements and Indexes. London: British Museum, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., June 25, 1924, p. 427.

Hall, Hubert (ed.). *List and Index of the Publications of the Royal Historical Society, 1871-1924: And of the Camden Society, 1840-1897.* Royal Historical Society, 1925. Pp. xvii, 110.

Notice in LTS., Dec. 17, 1925, p. 884.

Harrison, G. B (ed.). *The Bordley Head Quartos.* London: Lane; New York: Dutton. Current.

Rev. in SP., xxii, 552-553.

Haskell, Daniel C (ed.). *Check-list of Early English Printing, 1475-1640, in the New York Public Library.* Bulletin New York Public Library, xxix, 484-512, 545-578.

This list has been compiled in conjunction with the check-list of books printed in England before 1640 now being prepared by the Bibliographical Society of London under the editorship of Mr. Alfred W. Pollard.

Hasse, Karl Paul (Karl Markgraf v. Montoriola). *Die italienische Renaissance. Grundriss der Geschichte ihrer Kultur.* 2. verm. Aufl. Leipzig: Kröner, 1925. Pp. 259.

Hawkes, Arthur John. *Lancashire Printed Books. A Bibliography of all the Books printed in Lancashire down to the*

year 1800. Wigan: Public Libraries Committee, 1925. Pp. xxviii, 155.

Rev. in *Notes of Sales, LTS.*, May 21, 1925, p. 356; in *N & Q.*, Vol. 148, p. 270; Vol. 149, p. 323; by A. W. P. in *Library*, vi, 203-204.

Hearnshaw, F. J. C (ed.). *Social and Political Ideas of some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and the Reformation.* With a Preface by Ernest Barker. London: Harrap, 1925. Lectures by various scholars delivered at King's College, London.

Hecht, Hans. *Wege neuerer englischer Literaturforschung.* Deutsche Viertel-jahrschrift f. Lit.-Wissensch. u. Geistesgesch., III, 273-292.

Reviews of recent books and tendencies in English scholarship.

Heitz, Paul, and Ritter, F. *Versuch einer Zusammenstellung der deutschen Volksbücher des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts nebst deren späteren Ausgaben und Literatur.* Strassburg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1924.

Rev. by R. Priebisch in *MLR.*, xx, 224-226.

Has bibliographical importance and also a bearing on the history of printing.

Hinds, A. B (ed.). *Calendar of State Papers. Venetian.* 1636-1639. Vol. xxiv. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1923.

Rev. in *N & Q.*, Vol. 148, pp. 89-90; by E. R. Adair in *History*, x, 63-65 (including also Vol. xxiii). See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 454; 1923, p. 282.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland preserved at Welbeck Abbey.* Vol. ix. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1923.

Rev. by G. N. Clark in *EHR.*, xl, 609-611.

Hudson, William Henry. *The Story of the Renaissance.* New York: Holt, 1924.

Rev. by Louis R. Gottschalk in *Sewanee Review*, xxxiii, 239-241. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 275.

Hübscher, Arthur. *Das Problem der geistesgeschichtlichen Pseudomorphose in Renaissance und Barock.* Euphorion, xxvi, 367-372.

Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie. Hrsg. v. d. Gesellschaft f. deutsche

Philologie in Berlin. N. F. Bd. II. Bibliographie 1922.
Berlin: de Gruyter, 1924. Pp. viii, 425.

Keller, Wolfgang (ed.). *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft im Auftrage des Vorstandes*. N. F., I. Jena: Verlag der Frommannschen Buchhandlung, 1924. Pp. iv, 312.

Rev. by Hermann M. Flasdieck in Beiblatt, xxxvi, 170-171. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 275.

Joachimsen, Paul. *Renaissance, Humanismus und Reformation*. Zeitwende, I, 402-425.

Two lectures delivered before the Munich Luther Society, June, 1925.

Johnson, Henry Lewis. *Historic Design in Printing*. Boston: Graphic Arts Company, Batsford, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Mar. 26, 1925, p. 222.

Jones, Ifano. *A History of Printing and Printers in Wales to 1910: and also a History of Printing and Printers in Monmouthshire to 1923*. Cardiff: William Lewis, 1925.

Kalff, G. *West-Europäische Letterkunde*. II. *Hervorming en renaissance*. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1924.

Rev. by Th. de Ronde in Rev. Lit. Comp., v, 181-183.

Kaye, F. B. (ed.). *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits. By Bernard Mandeville*. With a Commentary, Critical, Historical and Explanatory. Two vols. Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. cxlvi, 412; 482.

The reason for including this work in a bibliography of the Renaissance is that the introduction gives a most valuable and enlightening sketch of the backgrounds in philosophy and ethics of Mandeville's work, a circumstance which of course necessitates a review of writers and thinkers of previous ages.

Keynes, Geoffrey. *A Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne*. Cambridge University Press, 1924. Pp. xii, 156.

Rev. by G. C. Moore Smith, MLR., xx, 90-92; in SP., xxii, 555. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 315.

Kluckhohn, P., und Rothacker, Erich (eds.). *Bucherei der Deutschen Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*. Band II, Teil 2: Konrad Burdach, *Renaissance und Reformation*. Band VI: Paul Puir,

Petrarcas Buch ohne Namen und die päpstliche Curie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frührenaissance.

Kolb, Albert. *Le catalogue général des incunables.* Rev. des bibliothèques, xxxv (1925), 133-138.

Gives information as to the plan and progress of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*; it is based on an article by Ernest Crous in *Minerva-Zeitschrift*, I (1924-1925), 28-30.

Kronenberg, M. E. *Lotgevallen van Jan Seversz. Boekdrukker te Leiden (C. 1502-1524) en te Antwerpen (C. 1527-1530).* 'S-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1925. Pp. 38. Reprint from *Het Boek*, Jan. 1924.

Lambin, G. *Succession, pamphlets et théâtre sous Elizabeth: La "Doleman's Conference," 1594.* Rev. Ang. Am., Apr. 1925, pp. 299-312.

Laubschat, Otto. *Petrarca über die Bücher.* Hamburg: Gräfe, 1924. Pp. 4.

Lea, Kathleen M. *Conceits.* MLR., xx, 389-406.

Leclère, L. *Les limites chronologiques du Moyen Âge.* Rev. belge de philologie et d'histoire, I, 69-76.

Lee, Sir Sidney, and Boas, F. S. *The Year's Work in English Studies.* Vol. iv. 1923. Edited for the English Association. London: Milford, 1925. Pp. 269.

Rev. in LTS., Feb. 19, 1925, p. 116; by A. Brandl in *Archiv*, N. S. XLIX, 102-104 (with vols. II and III); by A. Digeon in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, II, 562-563; by Friedrich Brie in *Eng. Stud.*, LIX, 416-417 (vols. I and II only); by Walther Fischer in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI, 137-139; by H. M. Flasdieck in *Literaturblatt*, XLVI, 292-294.

Legouis, Émile. *Dans les sentiers de la Renaissance anglaise.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1925.

Rev. by Henry D. Davray in *Mercure de France*, CLXXXIV, 547-549; by F. Delattre in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, III, 134-136.

Legouis, Émile, et Cazemian, L. *Histoire de la littérature anglaise.* Paris: Hachette, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Jan. 15, 1925, p. 38.

Library Journal. *Recent Bibliographies.* New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1925.

A series of lists issued bi-monthly of bibliographies, general and special, whether published separately or as parts of printed books.

Literature and Science from Britwell. Notes on Sales, LTS., Feb. 19, 1925, p. 124.

Litteris: An International Critical Review of the Humanities. Vol. I, No. 1. Lund: The Berling Press.
Rev. in LTS., Jan. 1, 1925, p. 6.

Lyell, James P. R. *Notes on Early Book-Illustration in Spain.* Library, VI, 1-41.

McKerrow, R. B. *Elizabethan Printers and the Composition of Reprints.* Library, v, 357-364.

McMurtrie, Douglas C (ed.). *Plantin's Index Characterum, 1567.* New York: privately printed, 1924(?).
Rev. in LTS., Mar. 26, 1925, p. 222.

McNair, Mary Wilson. *A List of American Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1922; . . . in 1923.* Library of Congress. Government Printing Office, 1923, 1924. Pp. 238, 209.

Madan, Falconer. *The Oxford Press, 1650-75. The Struggle for a Place in the Sun.* Library, VI, 113-147.

Appendix A (pp. 133-137), Some Notable Books, printed at Oxford, 1650-1675; Appendix B (pp. 138-145), The First Prospectus, Accounts, late in 1672, Letter from Dr. John Fell, about his proposed Bible, 11 April, 1672; Appendix C (pp. 146-147), Delegates of the Press, 1650-1675.

Mark, Jeffrey. *The Orlando Gibbons Tercentenary. Some Virginal Manuscripts in the Music Division.* Bulletin New York Public Library, XXIX, 847-860.

Marrot, H. V (trans.). *Bodoni's Preface to the Manuale Tipografico, 1818.* London: Elkin Matthews, 1925.
Rev. in LTS., Mar. 26, 1925, p. 222.

Milligan, George (ed.). *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Bibles: In Commemoration of the Four-Hundredth Anniversary of the Publication of Tindale's First Printed New Testament, 1525.* With a Prefatory Sketch and Notes. Glasgow: University Library, 1925. Pp. 54.

Modersohn, Anna-Brunhilde. *Cicero im Geistesleben des 16. Jahrhunderts.* Archiv, N. S. XLIX, 33-51.

An important collection of editions, citations, and references. The subject is to be continued.

Moore, Samuel. *Historical Outlines of English Phonology and*

Morphology: Middle English and Modern English. Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1925. Pp. viii, 153.

Rev. by Hermann M. Flasdieck in *Beiblatt*, xxxvi, 263-264.

Morison, Stanley. *The Art of the Printer.* London: Longmans, 1925.

Rev. in *LTS.*, Nov. 19, 1925, p. 771. 245 examples of printing from 1501 to Morris.

Morison, Stanley. *On Type Faces: With Introductory Essay and Notes.* London: The Medici Society and The Fleuron, 1925.

Rev. in *LTS.*, Mar. 26, 1925, p. 222.

Mudge, Isadora Gilbert. *Some Reference Books of 1924.* Library Journal, xxix, 15-28.

These articles are being issued annually as supplements to Miss Mudge's *New Guide to Reference Books* (Chicago: A. L. A. Publishing Board, 1923). They are valuable current bibliographies. Attention is called particularly to the following groupings: Periodicals, Literature, Biography, History, Bibliography, Public Documents.

Murphy, Gwendolen. *A Bibliography of English Character-Books, 1608-1700.* Oxford University Press, for the Bibliographical Society, 1925. Pp. 179.

Nijhoff, Wouter, and Kronenberg, M. E. *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540.* Supplement. 'S-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1925.

Northup, Clark Sutherland. *Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature.* With contributions by Joseph Quincy Adams and Andrew Keogh. Cornell Studies in English, ix. Yale University Press, 1925. Pp. x, 507.

This is the most important bibliographical work of the year, not only for students of the Renaissance but for all students of English. It was completed in 417 pages, and has an appendix of Additions and Corrections of 30 pages. The arrangement is alphabetical by author and subject after the manner of a library catalogue, except for its division into general bibliographical works and individual authors and topics. It will be most useful to scholars and to the reading public, though probably it would be more satisfactory to the former class if it had been made on such a general analytical scheme as Gross employs. In the preface the author invites attention to the principal gaps which exist in English bibliography: Old and Middle English, Elizabethan dramatists (except Shakespeare), Bacon, Milton,

Dryden, Addison, Goldsmith, Keats, Carlyle. The number of "topics" might well have been increased, but for the publication of the work we may well be thankful.

Notices of Periodical Publications. EHR., XL, 477-496.

A list of articles on historical subjects appearing in periodicals in 1924. The list is based on actual inspection of the periodicals, and is arranged under the following headings: General History and European International Relations, France, Germany (including Austria), Great Britain and Ireland, Italy, Netherlands and Belgium, Slavonic Europe, South-eastern Europe and Hungary, Switzerland, New Periodicals and changes of Arrangement.

Olgiati, Francesco. *L'anima dell' umanesmo e del Rinascimento.* Milano: Società editrice Vita e Pensiero, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 5, 1925, pp. 725-726.

Deals primarily with phenomena in Italian literature, but is obviously also of interest in the more general comparative field. (B)

Oxford Bibliographical Society. *Proceedings and Papers.* Vol. I, part II, 1924. Oxford: The Society, 1924. Pp. 65-153.

Contains an index to Rawlinson's collections for a new edition of Wood's *Athenae*, and a bibliography of Thomas Heywood by A. M. Clark.

Oxford Lectures on Classical Subjects. Oxford University Press, 1925.

Contains Ingram Bywater's lecture on *Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England.*

Paues, A. C. *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature.* Edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association. Vol. IV, 1923. Vol. V, 1924. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1924, 1925. Pp. iv, 235; 164.

Vol. IV: notice by G. C. M. S. in MLR., XX, 106; in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 299-300 (also Vol. III, 1922). See this Bibliography, 1925, pp. 276-277. Vol. V: rev. by R. W. Zandvoort in English Studies, VII, 187-188.

Plomer, Henry R. *Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries, from the Death of Caxton to 1535. A Chapter in English Printing.* London: Grafton & Co., 1925.

Notice in LTS., Oct. 22, 1925, p. 701; in Nation & Ath., XXXVIII, 300.

Pollard, A. W. *Good Book-Building.* Library, VI, 206-208.

Rauschenberger, Walther. *Das Genie der italienischen Renaissance.* Die Sonne (Köslin), IX, 20 (July 1925), 649-663.

Renouard, Ph. *Les marques typographiques parisiennes des XVe et XVIe siècles*. (En souscription: fasc. 1 announced for Oct. 1925). Paris: Champion.

The Review of English Studies. A Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language. Vol. 1, No. 1. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.

Rev. in LTS., Jan. 1, 1925, p. 6.

Ritter, Franz. *Bibliographie*. (For 1909.) Supplementheft xxxiv, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*. 1910. Halle: Niemeyer, 1925.

Rollins, Hyder E. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London*. University of North Carolina Press, 1924. Pp. iv, 324.

Rev. by Charles Read Baskervill in MP., xxiii, 119-125; by Max Friedrich Mann, in Beiblatt, xxxvi, 167-168. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 277.

Ronsard et son temps. Catalogue de l'exposition organisée à la Bibliothèque nationale en janvier 1925. Paris: éditions Albert Morancé, 1925. Pp. 128.

[Ronsard.] *Two Ronsard Expositions*. Notes on Sales. LTS., March 12, 1925, p. 176.

Schinz, Albert. *French Literature in 1924. A selection from the Publications of 1924 Recommended to Libraries*. Library Journal, L, 261-262.

Schirmer, Walter F. *Antike, Renaissance und Puritanismus. Eine Studie zur englischen Literaturgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. München: Max Hueber, 1924. Pp. ix, 233.

Rev. by C. H. Herford, MLR., xx, 193-195; by Gustav Hübener, in Eng. Stud., LIX, 286-292; by Herbert Schöffler in Beiblatt, xxxvi, 65-67; by Hans Hecht in Deutsche Vierteljahrsch., III, 287-290; by Alfred Stern in Litteris, II, 254-257. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 277.

Schoell, Franck L. *L'hellénisme française en Angleterre à fin de la Renaissance*. Rev. Lit. Comp., v, 193-238.

The author studies the following subjects: L'état des études grecques en Angleterre sous Elizabeth et Jacques Ier, Les Instruments de travail de L'helléniste anglais: les dictionnaires grecs; Les grammaires grecques, Les éditions françaises d'auteurs grecs en Angleterre;

l' "Homère" de Jean de Sponde. The article has the double effect of making still clearer the dependence of English classical culture upon the French and of expanding somewhat the idea one gets from Woodward or Sandys of the importance and extent of Greek study in England in the sixteenth century.

Seton-Watson, R. W. (ed.). *Tudor Studies; presented to Alfred Frederick Pollard*. London: Longmans, 1924. Pp. viii, 319.

Rev. by H. A. L. Fisher in *History*, x, 165-166; notice in *Contemp. Rev.*, cxvii, 541; rev. by Francis J. Tschan in *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, v, 132-134. For other reviews see *Book Review Digest*, 1925, under London University, Board of Studies in History.

Contains an article by F. C. J. Hearnshaw on *Bodin and the Genesis of the Doctrine of Sovereignty*; also *William Thomas: a Forgotten Clerk of the Privy Council* by E. R. Adair. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 330.

Short-title Catalogue of the Books printed in France and of French Books printed in other Countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum. London: The British Museum, 1924. Pp. 491.

Rev. by Henri Lemaitre in *Rev. des bibliothèques*, xxxv (1925), 172-173.

Described as being mainly the work of Dr. Henry Thomas.

Subject Index to Periodicals, 1921. Issued by the Library Association. I. Language and Literature, in two parts. Part 1, Classical, Oriental, and Primitive. Part 2, Modern European. London: The Library Association, 1925.

Thérive, André. *Réflexions sur la Renaissance*. *Revue mondiale*, May 15, 1925.

Toffanin, Guiseppe. *L'eredità del Rinascimento in Arcadia*. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1925.

Rev. by G. Natali in *Gior. stor. della lett. ital.*, fasc. 250-251.

Latin survivals and foreign influences, particularly those of France.

Toffanin, Guiseppe. *Pregiudizi intorno alla critica degli umanisti*. La Cultura, iv, 249 ff.

Largely concerned with the doctrine of imitation. (B)

Van Ortro, F. *Contribution à l'histoire des imprimeurs et des libraires belges établis à l'étranger*. *Rev. des bibliothèques*, xxxv (1925), 111-126.

One of a series of articles presenting information about early Belgian printers and booksellers doing business in foreign countries.

Vento, Sebastiano. *L'essenza del secento*. Rivista d'Italia, xxviii, 313-335.

Villey, Pierre. *Les grands écrivains du XVI^e siècle. Évolution des œuvres et invention des formes littéraires*. Tome I. Marot et Rabelais. Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance, Nouvelle série, xi. Paris: Champion, 1923. Pp. xvii, 431.

Rev. by Louis Brandin in MLR., xx, 352-354; by Caroline Ruutz-Rees in Romanic Rev., xvi, 362-368. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 345.

Viscardi, A. *Note sulla letteratura del Rinascimento*. La Cultura, iv, 145 ff.

Discusses the Renaissance as a continuation of the Middle Ages, suggesting that a growing objectivism, however, led to impersonality, and so to a waning of the mediaeval individualism. The idea is, of course, similar to the central theme of Henry Osborn Taylor's *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*. (B)

Vogt, George McGill. *Gleanings for the History of a Sentiment: Generositas Virtus, non Sanguis*. JEGP., xxiv, 102-124.

A wide and interesting collection of varied material from Seneca to William Morris, though strangely neglecting such obvious examples as occur in the seventeenth-century *Whole Duty of Man* and Defoe's *Compleat English Gentleman*.

Wähler, Martin. *Die Blütezeit des Erfurter Buchgewerbes (1450-1530)*. Mitt. des Ver. f. Gesch. u. Altertumskd. von Erfurt, 42, 1924. Pp. 58.

Watson, George. *Present State of Scottish Studies*. Leuvenische Bijdragen, xvii, 83-96.

Gives some information as to the publication of Scottish records.

Whale, Winifred Stephens. *History in Poetry from Agincourt to Rabelais*. Contemp. Rev., cxxvii, 207-215.

Occasioned by Édouard Champion, *Histoire poétique du quinzième siècle*. Paris: Champion, 1923.

Wollaton Hall Library. Notes on Sales. LTS., May 28, 1925, p. 372.

II. THE DRAMA AND THE STAGE.

NOTE: This section has been made to include a number of items not strictly in the English field or in the Renaissance. This has been done in deference to the somewhat extended range of the current study of English drama.

Adams, Joseph Quincy. *Chief Pre-Shakespearian Dramas*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.; London: Harrap, 1924. Pp. vii, 712.

Notice in LTS., July 23, 1925, p. 497; rev., LTS., Oct. 29, 1925, pp. 705-706; by Kemp Malone in MLN., XL, 39-43; by G. H. C. in Sewanee Review, XXXIII, 95-101. See this Bibliography, 1925, pp. 279-280.

Archer, William. *The Old Drama and the New*. London: Heinemann, 1923. Pp. viii, 396.

Rev. by Karl Arns in Eng. Stud., LIX, 112-125. See this Bibliography, 1924, pp. 406-407.

Arnold, Robert F (ed.). *Das deutsche Drama*. In Verbindung mit Julius Bab, Albert Ludwig, Friedrich Michael, Max J. Wolff herausgegeben von Robert F. Arnold. München: C. F. Beck, 1925, Pp. x, 868.

A general history of the German drama, the vernacular drama to the end of the sixteenth century being the work of Professor Michael.

Aronstein, Ph. *Das englische Renaissance-Theater*. Neueren Sprachen, XXXIII, 265-280.

A pleasant and simply-written essay by way of review of Sir Edmund Chamber's *The Elizabethan Stage*.

Austen, John (illustrator). *Everyman and Other Plays*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 26, 1925, p. 793.

Baldwin, T. W. *On The Chronology of Thomas Kyd's Works*. MLN., XL, 343-349.

The author reads "vj yeres nowe," instead of "iij yeres nowe," in the letter to Sir John Puckering (Boas, *Kyd*, xxiv-xxv, cviii-cx). This indicates that Kyd entered my Lord's service, and quit writing for the stage, in 1587. The proposed reading gives support to the author's arguments for early dates for both *Soliman and Perseda* and *The Spanish Tragedy*, and would make Kyd clearly the predecessor of Marlowe and Greene in the Elizabethan drama.

Barrow, Sarah F., and Hulme, W. H. *The Medieval Religious Plays "Antichrist" and "Adam."* Translated with an Introduction. Cleveland: Western Reserve University Bulletin, XXVIII, No. 8., 1925.

Beaumont, Albert. *The Hero: A Theory of Tragedy*. London: Routledge, 1925. Pp. 144.

Rev. in LTS., July 23, 1925, p. 492.

Ben Jonson. Leading Article in LTS., July 30, 1925, pp. 501-502.

Rev. of Herford and Simpson's edition of Jonson, volumes I and II.

Bever, Jean. *Un précurseur méconnu de notre théâtre classique: Robert Garnier (1545-1601)*. Rev. de France, v (No. 22), 404-409.

Birch, F., and Trend, J. D. *Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, Life's a Dream*. Translated for the English Stage. Cambridge: Heffer, 1925. Pp. xiii, 72.

Birrell, Francis. *Baumont and Fletcher*. Nation and Ath., xxxvii, 205.

About projected stage revivals; casual criticism.

Birrell, Francis. *Ben Jonson*. Empire Review, Oct. 1925, pp. 392-396.

Borchling, C. *Das ältere niederdeutsche Drama*. Der Schimmelreiter, iv (Mar. 1925), 39-42.

Bradford, Gamaliel. *The Women of Dekker*. Sewanee Review, xxxiii, 284-290.

Bradner, Leicester. *Stages and Stage Scenery in Court Drama before 1558*. RES., I, 447-448.

Brie, Friedrich. *Das Märchen von Childe Rowland und sein Nachleben*. Palaestra, 148.

Study of Christopher Middleton's *Chinon of England*, Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, and Milton's *Comus*.

Burgherr, Willi. *Johannes Mahler, ein schweizerischer Dramatiker der Gegenreformation*. Sprache und Dichtung, 33. Bern: Haupt, 1925, Pp. 166.

• Cardozo, J. L. *The Contemporary Jew in the Elizabethan Drama*. Dissertation. Amsterdam, 1925. Pp. xvi, 335.

Cé, Camille, et Servajean, Henri (trans.). *Le Tragédie de la Vengeance. Le Tragédie de l'Athée*. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 17, 1925, p. 597.

Translation into French of Cyril Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*.

Chamard, H (ed. et trans.). *Le Mystère d'Adam*. Paris: Colin, 1925. Pp. xii, 101.

Chambers, Sir Edmund. *The Elizabethan Stage*. Four vols. Oxford University Press, 1923.

Rev. by Samuel C. Chew in *MLN.*, *XL*, 355-359; by Hans Hecht in *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift*, *III*, 284-285; by H. M. Flasdieck in *Literaturblatt*, *XLVI*, 360-363; by W. W. Greg in *RES.*, *I*, 97-111. See this Bibliography, 1924, pp. 413-416; 1925, p. 281.

Chambers, Sir Edmund. *Elizabethan Stage Gleanings*. *RES.*, *I*, 75-78; 182-186.

Clark, Arthur Melville. *Jonson Allusion in Jeremy Taylor*. *N & Q.*, Vol. 148, p. 459; Edward Bensly, Vol. 149, p. 31.

Clark, Arthur Melville. *A Marlowe Mystification*. *LTS.*, July 16, 1925, p. 480.

Reply to communication by J. M. Robertson, *LTS.*, Dec. 11, 1924, p. 850.

Cohen, Gustav. *Le livre du register pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons à 1501*. Strasbourg: Faculté des Lettres, 1925.

Continuity in English Drama. Leading article in *LTS.*, Oct. 29, 1925, pp. 705-706.

Review of Allardyce Nicoll, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (Adams), *The Chief British Dramatists excluding Shakespeare* (Matthews and Lieder), *Comedies*. By William Congreve (*The World's Classics*), and *The Comic Spirit in Restoration Drama*. By Henry Ten Eyck Perry (Yale University Press).

Craig, Edward Gordon. *Books and Theaters*. London: Dent, 1925. Rev. in *LTS.*, Dec. 3, 1925, p. 827.

Discussion of various theatrical and personal topics including Evelyn's allusions to plays and theatres in Italy and elsewhere.

Crawford, J. P. Wickersham. *The Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Extra Series in Romance Languages and Literatures, 7. Philadelphia, 1922. Pp. 198.

Rev. by Wolfgang Wurzbach in *Literaturblatt*, *XLVI*, 372-374. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 460.

Crawford and Balcarres, the Earl of. *John Lyly*. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Vol. VIII, No. 2. Manchester University Press, 1924. Pp. 35.

Rev. by René Pruvost in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, *II*, 436-437. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 282.

Darlington, W. A. *Literature in the Theater*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1925. Pp. 207.

Commentary and survey by the dramatic critic of *The Daily Telegraph*.

de Kalb, Eugénie. *The Death of Marlowe*. LTS., May 21, 1925, p. 351.

Denkmäler des Theaters. Inszenierung, Dekoration, Kostüm des Theaters und der Grossen Festen aller Zeiten. I. Burnacini's Maschere. Vienna: National Library; London: E. P. Goldschmidt, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., May 28, 1925, p. 361.

Published in England under the title: *Monumenta scenica: The Art of the Theater*.

Dobrée, Bonamy. *Histriophone: A Dialogue on Dramatic Diction*. London: The Hogarth Press, 1925. Pp. 40.

Rev. in LTS., July 16, 1925, p. 477.

Donnarel, A. *Sur un passage du David et Bethsabie de G. Peele*. Rev. Ang. Am., III, 432-434.

Dunn, Esther C. *Ben Jonson's Art*. Smith College. Northampton, Mass., 1925. Pp. xviii, 159.

Dutch Library. The Hague: Nijhoff; London: Gyldenhall (10 Orange St., W. C. 2), 1924.

Notice by J. G. R. in MLR., xx, 237-238; rev. by A. W. Reed in RES., I, 159-165.

Three numbers have been issued: Translations into English of *Lanseloot van Denemerken*, *Esmoreit*, *soonincs sone van Ceciliën*, and *Mariken van Nieummeghen*. All are early Dutch dramas.

Enders, John F. *A Note on Jonson's Staple of News*. MLN., XL, 419-421.

Reveals Jonson's knowledge of Simon Studion's *Naometria*, a cabalistic and mystical work existing in manuscript of 1593 to 1604. The question remains how Jonson became acquainted with it. The passages in question are in Act III, scene i.

Flood, William H. Grattan. *Fennor and Daborne at Youghal in 1618*. MLR., xx, 321-322.

Flood, William H. Grattan. *Patent for Paris Garden in 1547*. RES., I, 461.

Frijlinck, Wilhelmina P (ed.). *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnaveit*. Amsterdam, 1922.

Rev. by A. J. Barnouw in *Museum*, March 6, 1925. See this Bibliography, 1923, p. 250; 1924, p. 417; 1925, p. 283.

Gosse, Edmund, and others. *Memorial to Christopher Marlowe*. LTS., Apr. 2, 1925, p. 240.

A project for collecting funds to complete the Marlowe Memorial at Canterbury and to take such other steps in honor of Marlowe as the available amount of money may allow.

Granville-Barker, Harley. *A Note upon Chapters XX and XXI of The Elizabethan Stage*. RES., I, 67-71.

Graves, Thornton S. *The Authorship of "Loocrine."* LTS., Jan. 8, 1925, p. 24.

Announces the location of the copy of the 1595 edition of *Loocrine* in the library of Mr. J. R. Clawson of Buffalo, N. Y., a library recently catalogued by Mr. Seymour De Ricci. On the basis of a note on the title-page of this copy in the handwriting of Sir George Buc, J. P. Collier assigned the authorship of *Loocrine* to Charles Tilney. This attribution, often regarded as a piece of Collier dishonesty, is now seen to have substantial basis.

Graves, Thornton S. *Notes on Elizabethan Plays*. MP., XXIII, 1-5.

Cites from Richard Vennar (*Apology*, 1614) an indication of the single authorship of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*.

Graves, Thornton S. *Women on the Pre-Restoration Stage*. SP., XXII, 184-197.

A sound and interesting article which shows that women were never regularly employed to act on the English stage prior to the Restoration, but that their sporadic appearances on special occasions were probably more frequent than we have been led to believe.

Greg, W. W. *The Escapes of Jupiter; an Autograph Play of Thomas Heywood's*. Palaestra, 148.

Greg, W. W. *The Evidence of Theatrical Plots for the History of the Stage*. RES., I, 257-274.

Dr. Greg now dates the Plot of *Aloazar* after Nov. 16, 1598, and before July 1600.

Greg, W. W. *Prompt Copies, Private Transcripts, and the 'Playhouse Scrivener.'* Library, VI, 148-156.

This article throws a great deal of light upon the origin of the manuscripts of *Believe as You List*, *Honest Man's Fortune*, and *Bonduca*, and also upon dispersion of theatrical manuscripts. The author admits that one may speak of a playhouse scrivener as existent from say 1620 to 1640, if one realizes that one does so loosely. He

objects, however, to references to the selling of transcripts of plays as a practice prevalent before 1630, until he is able to make further investigations of the subject. The person who did do copying of manuscripts for the theater was the book keeper or book holder, and he argues very shrewdly that we have evidence in the manuscripts of *Sir John van Olden Barnavelte*, *The Witch*, and possibly *Beggar's Bush*, all in one handwriting and earlier, and in the manuscripts of the plays first mentioned in this note, all in another handwriting and later, that we have examples of the work of two successive copyists for the King's Company.

Greg, W. W. '*The Spanish Tragedy*'—A Leading Case? Library, VI, 47-56.

Accepting the undated quarto of *The Spanish Tragedy* as the earliest in accordance with the findings of Professor Schick, the author concludes that since that undated quarto bears on its title-page the words, "Newly corrected and amended of such gross faults as passed in the first impression," it was not the first edition. The first edition was, he thinks, a "bad quarto," now lost, issued by Abel Jeffes in the spring or early summer of 1592. The undated quarto he thinks unquestionably a surviving example of the good quarto issued without warrant by Edward White in the autumn of 1592, but confiscated by order of the Court of Assistants. The main hypothesis is parallel to that currently advanced with reference to a lost "bad quarto" of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Dr. Greg's article is reviewed in *Memorabilia*, N & Q., Vol. 149, pp. 19-20.

Greg, W. W. (ed.). *The Spanish Tragedy, with Additions, 1602. Edward the Second. By Christopher Marlowe*. London: The Malone Society, 1925.

Notice in LTS., Dec. 17, 1925, p. 887.

There is an extended introduction to *The Spanish Tragedy* giving the substance of Dr. Greg's article in *The Library* listed above.

Harris, Mary Dormer. *The "World" in the Doomsday Mystery Play*. N & Q., Vol. 149, p. 243.

Harrison, G. B. *The Date of Sir Thomas More*. RES., I, 337-339; reply by A. W. Pollard, pp. 441-443.

Metrical tests applied to the supposed Shakespearean passage in *Sir Thomas More*.

Harrison, G. B. *The Story of Elizabethan Drama*. Cambridge University Press, 1924. Pp. 134.

Notice in LTS., Jan. 1, 1925, p. 10; in N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 106; by Osbert Burdett in *London Mercury*, XII, 101-103; in Bonamy Dobrée

in *Nation and Ath.*, xxxvii, 554-555. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 284.

Hecht, Hans. *Henry Medwell's Fulgens and Lucres. Eine Studie zu den Anfängen des weltlichen Dramas in England.* Palaestra, 148; Anglica. (Vols. 147 and 148, as two volumes of one work; Alois Brandl zum 70. Geburtstag überreicht.) Leipzig: Mayer und Müller, 1925. Pp. 184, 474.

Hendrix, Samuel. *Some Native Comic Types in the Early Spanish Drama.* Ohio State University Bulletin. Contributions in Languages and Literatures, 1. 1924.

Rev. by J. P. Wickersham Crawford in *MP.*, xxiii, 251-252. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 339.

Herford, C. H., and Simpson, Percy (eds.). *Ben Jonson: The Man and his Work.* Vols. I and II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Pp. xx, 441; vii, 482.

Rev. in *LTS.*, July 30, 1925, pp. 501-502; see also letter by Richard F. Patterson, *LTS.*, Aug. 6, 1925, p. 521; and letter by Percy Simpson, *LTS.*, Aug. 13, 1925, p. 533; also letter by W. W. Greg, *LTS.*, Aug. 27, 1925, p. 557; also letter by Richard F. Patterson, *LTS.*, Sept. 3, 1925, p. 569. Rev. in *N & Q.*, Vol. 149, pp. 107-108; by E. K. C. in *Library*, vi, 179-182; by Frank Kendon in *London Mercury*, xiii, 214-216; *in extenso* by Charles Whibley in *Blackwood's*, ccxviii, 680-691.

Hotson, J. Leslie. *The Death of Christopher Marlowe.* London: The Nonesuch Press, 1925. Pp. 76.

Rev. in *LTS.*, May 14, 1925, p. 329. Letter by Oliver W. F. Lodge, *LTS.*, May 14, 1925, p. 335; letters by E. K. Chambers and William Poel, *LTS.*, May 21, 1925, p. 352; by Sir George Greenwood and Oliver W. F. Lodge, *LTS.*, June 4, 1925, p. 384; rev. by Paul Reyher, *LTS.*, July 9, 1925, p. 464; by John M. Manly in *New Republic*, xlv, 57-58, from which observe the following quotation: "As evidence of Marlowe's unexpected attack these wounds [in Freser's head] are, indeed, almost laughably absurd, and may well have been self-inflicted after the event. The speed with which the case was reviewed and the pardon procured points to the intervention of some powerful influence." Rev. by Leonard Woolf in *Nation & Ath.*, xxxvii, 238; by F.-C. Danchin in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, iii, fasc. 1 (Oct. 1925); by Viktor Klages in *München-Augsburger Zeitung*, Nr 228, 1925 (see *Lit. Zentr.-bl.*, lxxxvi [Nov. 15, 1925], 1793); by F. C. Danchin in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, iii, 48-53.

Jeanroy, Alfred (ed.). *Le Jeu de Saint Nicholas par Jean Bodel,*

trouvière artésien du XIIIe siècle. Les classiques français du Moyen Âge: No. 48. Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Aug. 27, 1925, p. 554.

Jeffery, V. M. *La fortuna del dramma pastorale italiano in Inghilterra. Nuova Antologia, 1271, March, 1925.*

Relation of Anello Paulilli and Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. Much of the material of this article is included in the author's *Italian and English Pastoral Drama of the Renaissance*, MLR., XIX, 56-62, 175-187, 435-444. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 287. (B)

John Fletcher. Leading article in LTS., Aug. 20, 1925, pp. 537-538; see also letter by Montague Summers, LTS., Sept. 3, 1925, p. 569.

Lambin, G. *Du Bartas et le style de peela. Rev. Ang. Am., III, 54-56.*

Lancaster, H. Carrington. *Leading French Tragedies just before The Cid. MP., XXIII, 375-378.*

Lancaster, H. Carrington, and others (eds.). *Chryseide et Arimand, tragi-comédie de Jean Mairet (1625). The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, v. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1925. Pp. 174.*

Notice in Rev. Lit. Comp., v, 511; rev. by Émile Magne in *Mercure de France, CLXXXIV, 163-165*. The introduction deals with the inner conditions of the French theater at the time the play was presented.

Lawrence, W. J. "*Englishmen for my Money*": *A Possible Prototype. RES., I, 216-217.*

Loomis, John T. *Baumont and Fletcher: Corrected Copy of 1647 Edition. N & Q., Vol. 148, pp. 135-136.*

McIntyre, Clara F. *The Later Career of the Elizabethan Villain-Hero. PMLA., XL, 874-880.*

The author points out resemblances between the villain-hero of the Elizabethan drama and the villains of the "Gothic" novelists, particularly Mrs. Radcliffe. The personage lives on, she thinks, in the works of Byron and Shelley.

Malone, Kemp. *A Note on the Towneley Secunda Pastorum. MLN., XL, 35-39.*

Marcham, Frank (ed.). *The King's Office of the Revels, 1610-1622. Fragments of Documents in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, transcribed with a short Introduction, by Frank Marcham, with a Preface by J. P.*

Gilson. London: Frank Marcham, 53 Chalk Farm-road, N. W. 1, 1925. Pp. 46.

Rev. by Sir Edmund Chambers in RES., I, 479-484.

Matthews, Brander, and Lieder, Paul Robert (eds.). *Chief British Dramatists; Excluding Shakespeare*. London: Harrap; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925. Pp. xviii, 1084.

Rev. by Kemp Malone in MLN., XL, 39-43. For other reviews see Book Review Digest, 1925.

Memorabilia. N & Q., Vol. 148, pp. 19-20.

First list of plays to be produced by the Renaissance Theatre.

Mortier, Alfred. *Le démon dans ses incarnations dramatiques*. Paris: Peyronnet, 1925.

Mortier, Alfred. *Un Dramaturge populaire de la Renaissance italienne. Ruzzante (1502-1542)*. Paris: Peyronnet, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 24, 1925, p. 614; notice in Rev. Lit. Comp., v, 511.

Mustard, Wilfred P. *Notes on John Lyly's Plays*. SP., XXII, 267-271.

Mustard, Wilfred P. *Notes on Robert Greene's Plays*. MLN., XL, 316-317.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *British Drama: An Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Present Time*. London: Harrap, 1925. Pp. 498.

Rev. in LTS., Oct. 29, 1925, pp. 705-706; in Nation & Ath., XXXVIII, 264. For other reviews see Book Review Digest, 1925.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *A History of Restoration Drama and A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*. Cambridge University Press, 1923, 1925. Pp. 397 and 431.

Rev. in SP., XXII, 555-556; by Edith J. Morley in RES., I, 364-366; in N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 233; notice in Archiv, N. S. XL, 174; rev. by David Harrison Stevens in MP., XXIII, 249-251; by Hans Hecht in Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift, III, 285.

These volumes contain a good deal of material on influences and later survivals of the earlier drama.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *Introduction to Dramatic Theory*. London: Harrap; New York: Brentano's, 1925. Pp. 217.

For reviews see Book Review Digest, 1925.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *The Rights of Beeston and D'Avenant in Elizabethan Plays*. RES., I, 84-91.

See also *The Restoration Play Lists* by Hazelton Spencer, RES., I, 443-446, a criticism of Mr. Nicoll's paper.

Noah's Ark. *The Play of the Shipwrights' Gild of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the Cycle of Miracle Plays acted by the Gilds of the City at the Feast of Corpus Christi* (circa 1450). Newcastle-upon-Tyne; M. S. Dodds, 1925.

Notice in LTS., June 18, 1925, p. 419.

Notes on an Elizabethan Play. Leading Article in LTS., Mar. 5, 1925, p. 145.

Devoted mainly to a contrast of Elizabethan literature with its wealth of images, dullness, rhetoric, and confusion, to modern literature with its drab commonplace. Ford's *'Tis Pity she's a Whore* forms the chief basis of comment.

Oliphant, E. H. C. "*The Bloody Banquet*." LTS., Dec. 17, 1925, p. 882.

A rather conclusive argument that the play is by Thomas Dekker and not by Thomas Drew, as has been suggested. The author thinks that Middleton also had a hand in the play. See also letter by W. W. Greg, LTS., Dec. 24, 1925, p. 897.

Olivero, F. *La duchessa di Amalfi di John Webster*. Rivista d'Italia, Mar. 15, 1925.

This article points out the rather obvious derivation of the plot from Bandello through Belleforest; but apparently fails to note the final step through Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. (B)

Peacock, Matthew H. *The Wakefield Mysteries*. LTS., Mar. 5, 1925, p. 156; similar article in Beiblatt, xxxvi, 111-114.

Mr. Matthew H. Peacock, formerly Headmaster of Wakefield Grammar School, presents hitherto unknown references to a Corpus Christi play at Wakefield. They were discovered by Dr. John W. Walker in certain fragments of the proceedings of the Wakefield Burgess Courts. Two items from Apr. 26, 1633, of which one demands under penalty that Gyles Doleffe shall bring in the original of the Corpus Christi play before Whitsunday, and the other that the masters of the Corpus Christi play shall make their accounts before May-day. The plays were thus going in 1533. Another item of Michaelmas, 1556, commands the crafts to bring forth their plays as hath been heretofore used, and this shows that at Wakefield, as in other places, the plays had been set aside during the reign of Edward VI and were restored during the reign of Philip and Mary. It seems unnecessarily cautious

to deny, as is done by Mr. Russell Potter in a letter in *LTS.*, Apr. 30, 1925, p. 300, that in the "Towneley Plays" we have the actual Wakefield cycle. After all the word "Wakefield" is written on the manuscript, which also contains at least one incontestable local allusion.

Pfandl, Ludwig. *Ein Passionsspiel in Sevilla*. Archiv, N. S. XLIX, 84.

Phelps, Ruth Shepard. *The Sources of Lorenzo's Sacra Rappresentazione*. MP., XXIII, 29-42.

Sources are located in a number of the lives of the saints. It may be suggested that for some of the important bits unlocated in the lives of the saints the contemporary church service of the saints' day in question might be worth examining. No *Temporale* accessible to the reviewer seems to contain anything important.

Pillement, Georges (trans.). *John Ford: Dommage qu'elle soit une prostituée, suivi de Le sacrifice d'amour. Traduit de l'anglais par Georges Pillement*. Paris: Le Renaissance du Livre, 1925.

Rev. in *LTS.*, May 28, 1925, p. 367.

Pottle, Frederick A. *Two notes on Ben Jonson's Staple of News*. MLN., XL, 223-226.

Praag, J. A. van. *La Comedia espagnole aux Pays-Bas au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle*. Amsterdam: J. H. de Bussy, 1921.

Rébora, P. *L'Italia nel dramma inglese (1558-1642)*. Milano: Modernissima; London: Truslove and Hanson, 1925.

Rev. by S. G. Gargano in *Marzocca*, xxx, 32 (Aug. 9, 1922), a long and important review making several significant corrections and additions. (B) Rev. in *LTS.*, Oct. 1, 1925, p. 633.

Reed, A. W. *Early Dutch Secular Drama*. RES., I, 159-165.

This article is in a field of interest to students of the earlier Tudor drama. See *Dutch Library* above.

Reed, A. W. *Nicholas Udall and Thomas Wilson*. RES., I, 275-283.

Dr. Reed brings forward a deposition by Thomas Wilson in support of Nicholas Udall (P. R. O. Town Depositions, C, 24, 30), his former master at Eton, in a Chancery appeal against one Grenberie, and finds a bearing on the date of *Roister Doister*. Had this been an Eton play, the long quotations appearing in the third edition of *The Arte of Logique* would also have appeared in the first and second editions. This would point to 1553 as the date of the play.

Rose, William (ed.). *Dr. John Faustus: his Damnable Life and Deserved Death (1592). With the Second Report of Faustus, containing the Deeds of Wagner (1594).* Broadway Translations. New York: Dutton; London: Routledge, 1925.

Rev. in *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, II, 451.

Rudwin, Maximilian, J. *Historical and Bibliographical Survey of the German Religious Drama.* University of Pittsburgh Studies in Language and Literature. Pittsburgh, Pa., 1924. Pp. xxiii, 286.

Notice by J. G. R. in *MLR.*, XX, 373; rev. by B. A. Uhlendorf in *JEGP.*, XXIV, 600-601; by G. Duriez in *Rev. germanique*, VI (No. 3), 359-360; by Schröder in *Zeits. f. deut. Alt. u. deut. Lit.*, LXXII, 1 and 2; by Friedrich Michael in *Lit. Zentr.-bl.*, LXXVI (Feb. 28, 1925), 343-344.

Schelling, Felix E. *Elizabethan Playwrights. A Short History of the English Drama from the Beginning to the Closing of the Theaters in 1642.* New York: Harper, 1925. Pp. xiv, 335.

Notice in *LTS.*, Oct. 29, 1925, p. 721.

The author has endeavored in this book at once to revise his story of the Elizabethan drama and to tell it more simply. The two objects do not agree well together. One misses the particularity of the larger book and finds the story as told here lacking in freshness.

Schild, K. A. *Die Bezeichnungen der deutschen Dramen von den Anfängen bis 1740.* With Karl Obmann, *Der Bericht im deutschen Drama.* Giessener Beiträge z. dt. Philologie, 12. Giessen: v. Münchow, 1925. Pp. 76.

Schmidt, Hermann. *Der Formenbau bei Beaumont und Fletcher.* Giessen: Verlag des englischen Seminars, 1924. Pp. iv, 36.

Notice in *Lit. Zentral.-bl.*, LXXVI (July 15, 1925), 1088.

Searles, Colbert. *Allusions to the Contemporary Theater of 1616 by François Rosset.* *MLN.*, XL, 481-483.

Searles, Colbert. *The First Six Decades of French Sixteenth-Century Comedy.* *MP.*, XXIII, 153-165.

Seaton, Ethel. *Marlowe's Map.* In *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.* Vol. X, pp. 13-35. Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. 13-35.

Rev. by F.-C. Danchin in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, II, 438-440. See this *Bibliography*, 1925, p. 287.

Shaw of Dunfermline, Lord. *Darnley: A Historie*. London: Murray, 1925.

Notice in LTS., Aug. 20, 1925, p. 546.

A modern play.

Shay, Frank. *A Guide to Longer Plays: A List of Fifteen Hundred Plays for Little Theaters, Professional and Stock Companies, Art Theaters, Schools, Amateurs, and Readers*. London: Appleton, 1925.

Simpson, Percy, and Bell, C. F. *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court*. Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. 158.

Rev. by Harley Granville-Barker in RES., I, 231-235; by W. J. Lawrence in MLR., XX, 200-205; notice in Archiv, N. S. XLIX, 173-174. See this Bibliography, 1925, pp. 287-288.

Sisson, C. J. *Bibliographical Aspects of some Stuart Dramatic Manuscripts*. RES., I, 421-430.

Smith, G. C. Moore. *The Canon of Randolph's Dramatic Works*. RES., I, 309-323.

Smith, G. C. Moore. *College Plays Performed at the University of Cambridge*. Cambridge University Press, 1923. Pp. 110.

Rev. by Osbert Burdett in London Mercury, XII, 101-103. See this Bibliography, 1924, pp. 421-422.

Spellanzone, Gianina. *Uno scenario ed una commedia di Lope de Vega*. Rev. Phil. Esp., XII, 271-283.

Treats of the Madonna story on the early stage of Spain and Italy.

Starkie, Walter. *Carlo Goldoni and the "Commedia Dell' Arte"*. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. XXXVII., Section C, No. 3. Dublin: Hodges and Figgis, 1925.

Stoll, Elmer Edgar. *The Old Drama and the New*. MLR., XX, 147-157.

Struble, Mildred G. *The Indebtedness of Ford's "Perkin Warbeck" to Gainsford*. Anglia, XLIX (XXXVII), 80-91.

The author makes out a valid case for Ford's use of Gainsford's *True and Wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck* (1618); Bacon, she thinks, had also used it in the other principal source of Ford's play, *The History of King Henry the Seventh* (1622). She also thinks Ford made use of Hall, Holinshed, Stowe, Bernard André, and Polydore

Virgil, although she admits that many details of the play might as well have come from one source as another.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Pp. 231.

Rev. in LTS., Jan. 15, 1925; correction of reviewer in letter by W. W. Greg, LTS., Feb. 5, 1925. Rev. by R. B. McKerrow in RES., I, 361-363; in N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 36; by W. W. Greg in MLR., XX, 195-200; by A. W. P. in Library, v, 366-371; by Eduard Eckhardt in Eng. Stud., LIX, 436-440; by Osbert Burdett in London Mercury, XII, 101-103; by Bonamy Dobree in Nation and Ath., XXXVI, 554-555. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 288.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Thomas Heywood's Authorship of "King Edward IV,"* N & Q., Vol. 149, pp. 183-184.

T.-D., G. *Whitehall in 1642*. RES., I, 462.

A document which describes the Cockpit and the reveling rooms after their abandonment.

Thaler, Alwin. *Shakespeare to Sheridan, a book about the theatre of yesterday and today, with illustrations from the Harvard Theatre collection*. Harvard University Press, 1922. Pp. xviii, 339.

Rev. by A. Brandl in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 115-116. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 422.

Vidler, L. A. *John Fletcher's Ancestry*. N & Q., Vol. 149, p. 192; W. G. D. Fletcher, p. 265; L. A. Vidler, p. 340.

Wainewright, John B. "*A Knacke to Knowe a Knave*": *John Fisher*. N & Q., Vol. 149, pp. 7-8.

Waller, Evangelia H. *A Possible Interpretation of The Misfortunes of Arthur*. JEGP., XXIV, 219-245.

An attempt after the fashion of Miss Winstanley to explain *The Misfortunes of Arthur* as a political allegory of the relations between England and Scotland about the beginning of the year 1588. In this Arthur is James, Guenevere, Mary of Scotland, Mordred, Bothwell, and Elizabeth vaguely, a kindly generalized force, partly Fronia and Angharat. It is all very cautiously and modestly put and points an interesting possibility.

Whanslaw, H. W. *The Bankside Stage Book*. Darton: Wells Gardner, 1924. Pp. xx, 256.

Notice in LTS., Jan. 1, 1925, p. 10; by Bonamy Dobrée in Nation and Ath., XXXVI, 554-555. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 289.

Williams, F. Eirene. *Palamon and Arcite*. London: Erskine Macdonald, 1925. Pp. 115.

Notice in LTS., June 4, 1925, p. 385.

Modern play on an old theme.

Willis, Eola. *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century: With Social Settings of the Time*. Columbia: The State Company, 1925. Pp. xv, 483.

Notice in LTS., Feb. 26, 1925, p. 140.

Witherspoon, Alexander Maclaren. *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama*. Yale Studies in English, LXV. Yale University Press, 1924. Pp. vi, 192.

Notice by G. C. M. S. in MLR., xx, 231-232; rev. by Hardin Craig, PQ., iv, 188; by Émile Legouis in Rev. Lit. Comp., v, 360-364. See this Bibliography, 1925, pp. 289-290.

Withington, Robert. "F. S., Which is to Say, . . ." SP., xxii, 226-233.

Withington, Robert. *Notes on Dramatic Nomenclature*. N & Q., Vol. 149, pp. 399-401.

Wood, D. T. B. *The Revels Books: the Writer of the "Malone Scrap."* RES., i, 72-74.

Wood, D. T. B. *The Suspected Revels Books*. RES., i, 166-172.

Yates, Frances A. *English Actors in Paris during the Lifetime of Shakespeare*. RES., i, 392-403.

III. SHAKESPEARE.

Adams, Joseph Quincy. *A Life of William Shakespeare*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923. Pp. xvii, 561.

Rev. by G. H. C. in Sewanee Review, xxxiii, 95-101. See this Bibliography, 1924, pp. 423-425; 1925, p. 290.

Alden, R. M. *Shakespeare*. New York: Duffield and Company, 1922. Pp. xix, 377.

Notice by H. V. R. in MLR., xx, 106-107; by G. H. C. in Sewanee Review, xxxiii, 95-101. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 290.

Alden, R. M. *A Shakespeare Handbook*. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1925. Pp. xvi, 240.

Ashbaugh, S. S. *Shakespearean Problems*. Shakespeare Association Bulletin, Vol. i, No. 1, pp. 12-15.

Review of *A Life of Shakespeare* by Joseph Quincy Adams (see this

Bibliography, 1924, pp. 423-425; 1925, p. 290). See Professor Adams's reply to the strictures of this review. *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 13-14.

Bab, Julius. *Shylock—Nathan—Judith*. Morgen (Juni 1925), 209-225. (See Lit. Zentr.-bl., LXXXVI [Nov. 30, 1925], 1891.)

Baker, Arthur E. *Shakespeare Dictionary: Part 5, Hamlet*. Taunton (England): Author, 1925. Pp. 177-244.

Bass, Mrs. James Madison. *The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.* *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 2-4.

Baugh, Albert C. *Recent Work in the Shakespearean Field*. *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 17-20.

Bayley, A. R. "Or Mons, the Hill." *N & Q.*, Vol. 148, pp. 399-401; 417-419.

Extended comment on *L. L. L.* v, i, 89.

Beach, J. W. *Shakespeare and Harlequin*. *Virginia Quarterly Review*, I, 247-260.

Benedetti, A. *La Sicilia nel teatro di Shakespeare*. *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, XLV.

Blau, Arnim. *Die Gestalt des Juden Shylock. Eine Entgegnung*. *Jeschurun*, XII (1925), 77-89.

Brandl, A. *Neues über Shakespeare*. *Deutsche Rundschau*, Oct.-Dec., 1924, pp. 282-292.

Rev. by Benedetto Croce in *La Critica*, XXIII, 163-164.

Bray, Sir Denys. *The Original Order of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. London: Methuen, 1925.

Rev. in *LTS.*, Nov. 26, 1925, p. 797.

Brewer, Wilmon. *Shakespeare's Influence on Sir Walter Scott*. Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Company, 1925.

Bridges, Horace James. *Our Fellow Shakespeare*. New rev. ed. Chicago: Covici, 1925. Pp. 300.

Brie, Friedrich. *Das heroische bei Shakespeare*. Vortrag in der Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache und Literatur. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 1925, Nr. 927. Morgenausgabe.

Broadus, E. K. *An Elizabethan Diarist*. *Dalhousie Review*, IV, 69-76.

A brief sketch of John Manningham of the Middle Temple.

Brooke, Tucker. *Shakespeare's Moiety of the Stratford Tithes*. MLN., XL, 462-469.

This is a further study, more careful than hitherto made, of the documents printed in Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, 7th ed., 1887, II, pp. 19-31. They deal with Shakespeare's acquisition of "the moiety or one half" of certain Stratford tithes. The words indicate one-half, not of the entire estate, but of a portion which was approximately one-eighth of the entire estate. They indicate that Thomas Greene, Shakespeare's cousin, owned a reversionary interest in the other half of this portion, which was for the time being in the hands of the Combe family. Professor Brooke thinks that it was the death of Thomas Combe which precipitated the suit by making it desirable that Greene and Shakespeare secure a readjustment of rent payments which the Combes and other holders of property in the estate as a whole were refusing to meet proportionately to their holdings or at all. The petition in chancery is to be dated between January 11, 1609, the burial of Thomas Combe, and March 25, of the same year. The latter date Professor Brooke arrives at by computing the six-year period to elapse before Greene's coming into possession, counting 1608 as one year.

Brulé, A. *Un Page de Mallarmé sur Hamlet et Fortinbras*. Rev. Ang. Am., Apr. 1925, pp. 330-332. Reprinted from *Revue Blanche*, July 15, 1896.

Brunius, August. *William Shakespeare: Liv, Drama, Theater*. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., June 4, 1925, p. 384.

Bullock, Walter L. *The Sources of Othello*. MLN., XL, 226-228. Defends *Ecatommitti*, III, 7, as a source for *Othello*.

Busch, Gertrude. *Die Ausblicke in den Historien und Tragödien Shakespeares, ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der dramatischen Technik des Dichters*. Phil. Diss. 1924 (Auszug). In *Jahrbuch der philosophischen Fakultät der deutschen Universität in Prag*. Prag: Calve, 1925. Pp. 42.

Cahour, Joseph. *Jeanne d'Arc dans la littérature étrangère*. Laval: Polycopié par les soins de l'auteur, 1925. Pp. 28. Treats of Shakespeare and Schiller.

Campbell, O. J. *Love's Labor's Lost Restudied*. In *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*. By Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan (New York: Macmillan, 1925. Pp. 232), 14-47.

This article presents an extremely interesting bit of salvage from M. Abel Lefranc's *Sous le Masque de William Shakespeare* (Paris, 1919). It will be remembered that M. Lefranc's argument that the Earl of Derby was the author of Shakespeare's plays caused his otherwise careful and interesting book to be quickly disregarded. Professor Campbell accepts and reinforces M. Lefranc's discovery (II, 17 ff.) that the central story of the play reflects historical events which took place at the court of Henry of Navarre at Nerac in 1578.

Campbell, O. J. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona and Italian Comedy*. In *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*, as above, pp. 47-63.

In this paper and in the one just referred to Professor Campbell contends that the shaping influence on the plays under consideration is the *Comedia dell' arte*. He announces future studies to show its influence on *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

Chambers, Sir Edmund. *The Disintegration of Shakespeare*. Annual Shakespeare Lecture of British Academy. Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. 22.

Notice in JEGP., xxiv, 459. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 293.

Chambers, Sir Edmund. *The First Illustration to 'Shakespeare.'* Library, v, 326-330.

Reproduction of a drawing by Henry Peacham, made in 1595, which stands at the top of a sheet containing a speech by Tamora (*Tit. And.*, I, i, 104-120) oddly joined to one of Aaron's speeches (V, i, 125-144) by a three-line speech of Titus, two and one-half lines of which are unknown to the text as we have it. The drawing shows the victorious Titus with Tamora and two sons (with hands bound) kneeling before him. The situation is that of the first scene of the play, wherein Aaron, who is called upon to repent his wicked life and prepare to die, is completely out of place. It is hard to tell just what Sir Edmund thinks he has before him. He thinks the lines must be from the 1594 edition, which is not available, and almost suggests that Peacham may be the author of the play. He gives it as the suggestion of a friend that the paper is an exercise in penmanship, which, frankly, it seems to me to be. Peacham has selected a scene and a speech, and chosen also to picture with it after the composite manner another character, namely, Aaron, with his own speech and situation.

Chambers, Sir Edmund. *The Integrity of The Tempest*. RES., I, 129-150.

In this review of the edition of *The Tempest* in "The New Shakespeare" (see this Bibliography, 1923, pp. 265-266) the author attacks

sharply the bold conclusions of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Mr. John Dover Wilson with reference to the history of the text of *The Tempest* as it appears in the First Folio, and refuses on grounds of scholarly conservatism to be convinced. The reviewer finds the evidence insufficient to indicate a drastic abridgement; he finds no reason for attributing the verse of the mask to another hand than Shakespeare's, and no adequate evidence for one or more recasts of the play; but on the other hand argues strongly that the play is an integral artistic unit as it stands. The editors of "The New Shakespeare" are liable to much criticism of this kind, and within limits it is unanswerable and will in the end sweep away much, but we may believe not all, of their structure.

Chambers, Sir Edmund. *Shakespeare: A Survey*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1925. Pp. viii, 325.

Rev. in LTS., Oct. 22, 1925, p. 693; by Richard Aldington in *Nation & Ath.*, xxxviii, 188-190.

This book is mainly a collection of introductions to editions of various plays. It does not take its place as a complete compendium of information along with *The Mediaeval Stage* and *The Elizabethan Stage*.

Chambrun, Comtesse de. *Shakespeare et le Maroc*. *Revue de Paris*, June 15, 1925.

Charlton, W. B. *Romantic Traits in Shakespeare's Comedy*. Palaestra, 148.

Chiesa, M. Tibaldi. *La Tragedia greca e la tragedia inglese. Sofocle e Shakespeare*. *Nuova Antologia*. CCXLIII (1925), 123-152.

Connes, Georges. *Le mystère Shakespearien*. *Rev. de Cours et Conférences*, xxvi (1re Série), pp. 243-261, 442-460, 618-640; (2e Série), pp. 26-48, 446-469, 699-716. (To be continued).

The author cannot believe that the portrait bust at Stratford is of the author of the plays or that Shakespeare could have composed his epitaph. After a fair and frank review, biographical and critical, Mr. Connes turns out illogically to be a Baconian. He takes the old-fashioned ground of the manifestation and interpretation of external evidence and relies on what he considers an enormous fitness in his belief in Bacon's authorship.

Conrad, Hermann (ed.). *Shakespeare, König Johann nach der Übertragung A. W. Schlegels*. Leipzig: Inselverlag, 1924. Pp. 135.

Notice in *Archiv*, N. S. XLVIII, 302.

- Cordova, Rudolph de. *Shakespeare through Modern Spectacles*. Great Thoughts, Oct. 1925.
- Cowl, R. P. *Echoes of Henry the Fourth in Elizabethan Drama*. LTS., Oct. 22, 1925, p. 697.
- Cowl, R. P. *Some Literary Allusions in "Henry the Fourth."* LTS., Mar. 26, 1925, p. 222; see also letter by A. R. Cripps, LTS., Apr. 12, 1925, p. 253.
- Cowling, George Herbert. *A "Coriolanus" Cruz*. LTS., Jan. 22, 1925, p. 56.
- Suggested emendation of Cor. IV, iii, 11; reply by H. C. Lawrence, LTS., Feb. 19, 1925, p. 120; Henry Cuninghame, LTS., Feb. 26, 1925, p. 138; N. W. H., LTS., Mar. 5, 1925, p. 156.
- Cowling, George Herbert. *A Preface to Shakespeare*. London: Methuen, 1925. Pp. viii, 164.
- Notice in LTS., Mar. 5, 1925, p. 158; rev. by A. W. Pollard in RES., I, 359-361; by A. Brandl in Archiv, N. S. XLIX, 114-116; by Osbert Burdett in London Mercury, XII, 216-218.
- Cowling, George Herbert (ed.). *Shakespeare, The Tragedy of Richard II*. London: Methuen, 1924. Pp. 161.
- Notice in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 302.
- Craig, Hardin. *The Ethics of King Lear*. PQ., IV, 97-109.
- Craig, Hardin. *Shakespeare's Depiction of Passions*. PQ., IV, 289-301.
- Cross, Wilbur L., and Brooke, Tucker. *Love's Labour's Lost*. The Yale Shakespeare. Yale University Press, 1925.
- Crump, Geoffrey H. *A Guide to the Study of Shakespeare's Plays*. London: Harrap, 1925. Pp. 195.
- Notice in LTS., May 30, 1925, p. 318; rev. by W. A. Ovaas in English Studies, VII, 3 (June 1925).
- Outlines a method of teaching Shakespeare in schools.
- Cunningham, Henry. *The "Midsummer Night's Dream."* LTS., Jan. 8, 1925, p. 24.
- Reply to strictures on reading of *Mids. Dr.*, II, i, 249, in leading article in LTS., December 18, 1924; noted in this Bibliography, 1925, p. 301.
- D'Alfonso, R. *Filosofi e psicologi nell' Amleto*. Nuova Antologia, CCXXXIX, 183-194.
- Dean, H. P. *Falstaff's Death*. LTS., Apr. 23, 1925.

Dean, H. P. *A Folio Stage Direction*. LTS., Nov. 26, 1925, p. 812.

Recommends retention of Folio punctuation in *Tempest*, III, iii, after line 19.

Dean of Winchester. *Fifty Years of Shakespeare on the Stage*. III. Tragedies. Cornhill, LVIII, 113-126.

See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 294.

Denning, W. H. *Who wrote Shakespeare's Sonnets?* Engl. Rev., XL, 766-768.

In this brief article the author, concluding from Sonnets 37, 66, 89, that the writer was physically lame, starts out to find a lame man to serve as author. Sonnet 113 indicates blindness, and this brings forth the question, Did Anthony Bacon suffer from defective eyesight in his later years?

Derocquigny, Jules. *Runaway's eyes* (Romeo and Juliet, III, ii, 6). Rev. Ang. Am., II, 236-238.

Derocquigny, Jules. *Shakespeare, Cymbeline*. Rev. Ang. Am., June 1925, pp. 430-432.

Diamond, William. *Wilhelm Meister's Interpretation of Hamlet*. MP., XXIII, 89-101.

Makes quite clear the not very difficult hypothesis that we have in Goethe's famous theory the words, not of Goethe, but of his "susceptible, sentimental, weak, happy-go-lucky, and quixotic hero." Even if one grants that the interpretation is Goethe's own and has been accepted by Coleridge and the great mass of Shakespeare critics, it should not be regarded as oracular.

Dickins, Bruce. "*Pythagoras concerning Wildefowle*." (*Twelfth Night*, IV, ii, 52-58.) MLR., XX, 186.

Dobell, P. J., and A. E. *More Seventeenth Century Allusions to Shakespeare and his Works not Hitherto Collected*. London: the authors, 8 Bruton St., W., 1924.

Drinkwater, John (ed.). See entry under this name in section V.

Dubeux, A. *L'art de traduire Shakespeare: traductions d'autrefois et traductions d'aujourd'hui*. Revue universitaire, XXXIV (July 1925), 114-127.

Durrant, Bernard Christian. *Sonnets to the Memory of William Shakespeare*. London: Merton Press, 1925. Pp. 75.

Notice in LTS., Sept. 24, 1925, p. 623.

Eichler, Albert. "Master" als Höflichkeitswort in Shakespeares Dramen. Eng. Stud., LX, 134-139.

Eichler, Albert. Shakespeares *The Tempest* als Hofführung. Festgabe Karl Luick, 227-238, Die Neuren Sprachen, 6. Beiheft. Marburg: N. G. Elwertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1925. Pp. 279.

Emerson, Oliver Farrar. *Shakespearean and Other Feasts*. SP., XXII, 161-183.

Only the most elaborate Elizabethan feasts had three courses. Two was the rule; hence "great nature's second course" was not only 'the chief nourisher of life's feast,' but was the concluding part of the entertainment.

Fairchild, A. H. R. *A Note on Macbeth*. PQ., IV, 348-350.

This article suggests that light may be thrown on *Macb.* I, iv, 52 (The eye wink at the hand) by Emblema XVI of Alciatus (1608).

Forbis, J. F. *The Shakespearean Enigma and Elizabethan Mania*. New York: American Library Service, 1924. Pp. 342.

Notice in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 301; described as the strangest thing which has ever been written about Shakespeare's sonnets; for other reviews see Book Review Digest, 1925.

Forrest, H. E. *The Old Houses of Stratford-upon-Avon*. London: Methuen; New York: Doran, 1925. Pp. 180.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 3, 1925, p. 566. For other reviews see Book Review Digest, 1925.

Forsythe, R. S. *Imogen and Neronis*. MLN., XL, 313-314.

The parallel formerly pointed out by the author between *Cymb.*, III, v; IV, ii, and *The First Part of Jeronimo*, II, ii, 4, is now carried back to *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*.

Fort, J. A. *The Shakespeare Signatures*. LTS., Jan. 22, 1925, p. 56.

Reply to Sir George Greenwood's letter in LTS., Jan. 15, 1925, arguing that sheets 1 and 2 of Shakespeare's will might have been signed after sheet 3, but before the authenticating witnesses signed.

Fort, J. A. *Two Dated Sonnets of Shakespeare*. Oxford University Press, 1924.

Rev. by J. Dover Wilson in RES., I, 353-359; notice by G. C. M. S. in MLR., XX, 232; by K. M. in MLN., XL, 384; by A. W. P. in Library, v, 375-376; notice in Archiv, N. S. 48, 301; rev. by T.-C. Danchin in

Rev. Ang. Am., II, 541-542; by Osbert Burdett in London Mercury, XII, 61-103. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 295.

Fränkel, Ludwig (ed.). *Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, auf Grund der Übersetzung A. W. Schlegels*. Leipzig: Inselverlag, 1924.

Notice in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 302-303.

Franz, W. *Shakespeare-Grammatik*. 3. verbesserte Aufl. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1924. Pp. xxxiv, 639.

Rev. by J. H. G. Grattan in MLR., XX, 345-347; notice in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 300-301; by Eduard Eckhart in Eng. Stud., LIX, 261-262. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 295.

Fries, Charles C. *Shakespearean Punctuation*. In *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*. By Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan (New York: Macmillan, 1925. Pp. 232), 67-86.

The writer gives a review of Mr. Percy Simpson's thesis and cites other recent works on Elizabethan punctuation. His conclusions are somewhat negative, although he admits that one cannot insist that an elocutionary system of Shakespearean punctuation is impossible. This article is devoted to a study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works on grammar and rhetoric in so far as they touch upon punctuation. The use of technical terms in Elizabethan thinking is vague, and one feels that Puttenham and Jonson at least had in mind, not only the placing of points according to sense, but also, in some measure, according to rhetorical or elocutionary demand.

Fripp, Edgar I. *Master Richard Quyny of Stratford-upon-Avon and Friend of William Shakespeare*. London: Milford, for the Dugdale Society, 1924. Pp. 216.

Notice by G. C. M. S. in MLR., XX, 108; by C. A. J. S. in EHR., XL, 464; rev. by A. W. Reed, History, X, 260-262; by Osbert Burdett in London Mercury, XII, 101-103; by C. L. Bennet, Dalhousie Review, IV, 544; notice in Lit. Zentr.-bl., LXXVI (June 15, 1925), 963. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 295.

Fripp, Edgar I., and Savage, Richard (eds.). *Minutes and Accounts of Stratford-on-Avon*. Vol. II. Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. I, 119.

Notice by C. A. J. S. in EHR., XL, 314. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 295.

Gargano, G. S. *Manoscritti di Shakespeare*. Marzocco, XXX, 51.

Gargano, G. S. *Shakespeare: Il Mercante di Venezia*. Versione

col testo a fronte, introductione e note. Firenze: Sanzoni, 1925.

The introduction is of some importance, and presents new material on the Jew Roderigo Lopez and his connection with Italy. The earlier (Italian) versions of the story are also cited, but Sig. Gargano does not believe that Shakespeare knew them directly. (B)

Gaw, Allison. *Actors' Names in Basic Shakespearean Texts, with Special Reference to Romeo and Juliet and Much Ado*. PMLA., XL, 530-550.

The author would explain the name "Peter" in the stage direction, *R. & J.*, V, iii, 22, as a possible survival from the original play of the name Pietro for Romeo's servant in Bandello, an indication that Balthazar was substituted for the metrically equivalent Pietro. There are other good points about the article, particularly the account offered for the Dogberry and Cowley speeches in *Much Ado*.

Gill, Erma. *A Comparison of the Characters in The Comedy of Errors with those in the Menaechmi*. University of Texas Bulletin. Studies in English, 5 (University of Texas Press, 1925. Pp. 209), 79-95.

Gothain, Marie L (ed.). *Shakespeare, Viel Lärm um Nichts. Auf Grund der Baudissin-Tieckschen Übertragung*. Leipzig: Inselverlag, 1925.

Granville-Barker, Harley. *From Henry V. to Hamlet*. The British Academy. London: Milford, for the Academy, 1925. Pp. 29.

Granville-Barker, Harley (ed.). *Julius Caesar*. Player's Shakespeare. Illustrated by Ernst Stern. London: Benn, 1925.

Graves, Thornton S. *The Adventures of Hamlet's Ghost*. PQ., iv, 139-150.

Graves, Thornton S. *On Allegory in The Tempest*. MLN., XL, 396-399.

A delightful protest against the blindness of Shakespeare allegory makers to familiar stage conventions.

Gray, Henry David. *Heywood's Pericles, Revised by Shakespeare*. PMLA., XL, 507-529.

The author reasserts the view, with some modifications, of the late Professor Daniel Lindsay Thomas, that Heywood and not George Wilkins was responsible for the first version of *Pericles* (Eng. Stud., XXX, 210-239). The arguments brought forward by Professor Gray

are from dramatic structure, the attitude of the author, and matters of style.

Green, T. *Unconsidered Trifles*. Halifax: F. King, 1924.

Contains a literary study of Shakespeare.

Greenwood, Sir George. *The Shakespeare Problem*. Engl. Rev., XL, 52-61.

A review of various recent Shakespeare books and articles. One could forgive it all if the author, and his fellow-partisans, would discard their assumption of complete and incorruptible impartiality—pseudo-judicialism. Sir George here declares that he is not a Baconian.

Greenwood, Sir George. *The Shakespeare Signatures*. LTS., Jan. 15, 1925.

An addendum to his book, *The Shakspeare Signatures and "Sir Thomas More,"* in which he pretends to make Sir E. Maunde Thompson's case "go by the board" by arguing that it is natural and customary for a testator to sign the separate sheets of a will in their numerical order; see this Bibliography, 1925, pp. 296-297. See also letter in reply to critics in LTS., Jan. 29, 1925, p. 71.

Greenwood, Sir George. *The Shakspeare Signatures and "Sir Thomas More."* London: Cecil Palmer, 1924. Pp. xvii, 112.

Rev. by F.-C. Danchin in Rev. Ang. Am., II, 341-342. See this Bibliography, 1925, pp. 296-297.

Greenwood, Sir George. *Shakespeare's Handwriting and the North-umberland Manuscript. The latest "Shakespeare" Mare's Nest*. London: Watts, 1925. Pp. 31.

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Griston, Jay Harris. *Shaking the Dust from Shakespeare*. New York: Cosmopolis Press, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Jan. 29, 1925; by Osbert Burdett in London Mercury, XII, 216-218; in Contemp. Rev., 127, 663-665; by E. Ritchie in Dalhousie Review, IV, 140; by J. L. Cardoza in English Studies, VII, 182-184. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 297.

Gurney, T. A. *Shakespeare's Susanna*. Contemporary Review, CXXVIII, 758-765.

A pleasant article based on the scanty familiar records of Shakespeare's eldest daughter and on inferences from the plays.

Guthmann, A. *Shakespeares Krankheit und Tod*. Der Türmer, XXVIII (Nov. 1925), 146-150.

Guthrie, John. *Ten Designs for "The Two Gentlemen of Verona."* With a Foreword by Gordon Bottomley. Bognor: Peartree Press, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 26, 1925, p. 793.

Haines, C. M. *The "Law of Re-Entry" in Shakespeare.* RES., I, 449-451.

Haines, C. M. *Shakespeare in France. Criticism: Voltaire to Victor Hugo.* Oxford University Press, for the Shakespeare Association, 1925. Pp. viii, 170.

Rev. in LTS., June 18, 1925, p. 405-406; in N & Q., Vol. 149, p. 35; in Library, VI, 194-195; by Samuel C. Chew in Nation (N. Y.), CXXI, 436-438; by Frank Kendon in London Mercury, XIII, 214-216. For other reviews see Book Review Digest, 1925.

Harrison, G. B., and Pritchard, F. H. *Twelfth Night; Or What You Will. The Merchant of Venice. The Life of King Henry the Fifth.* The New Reader's Shakespeare. London: Harrap, 1925.

Haworth, Peter. *A Misprint in Troilus.* LTS., May 21, 1925, p. 352.

Offers on the basis of a re-reading of the Folio the emendation *fight* for *sight* in T. & C., III, iii, 4; emendation rejected, letter by W. W. Greg, LTS., May 28, 1925, p. 368; reply by Peter Haworth, LTS., June 4, 1925, p. 384.

Haworth, Peter. *A Textual Puzzle in "Much Ado."* LTS., Feb. 12, 1925, p. 104.

Would read *Much Ado*, V, i, 16, *And sorrow swagge*, i. e. "swage."

Heidrich, Hans. *John Davies of Hereford (1565-1618) und sein Bild von Shakespeares Umgebung.* Palaestra, 143. Leipzig: Meyer und Miller, 1924. Pp. 124.

Notice in JEGP., XXIV, 460; rev. by R. B. McKerrow in RES., I, 242-244; by Max J. Wolff in Eng. Stud., LIX, 294-295. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 314.

Herford, C. H. *A Russian Shakespearean.* Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Vol. IX, No. 2, July 1925, 453-580.

A study of Pushkin as a follower of Shakespeare.

Herford, C. H. *Shakespeare and Descartes: A Chapter in the Intellectual History of Europe.* Hibbart Journal, XXIV, 88-100.

Herford, C. H. *Sketch of the History of Shakespeare's Influence on the Continent*. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Vol. ix, No. 1 (Jan. 1925), pp. 20-62.

Hoffmann-Harnisch, Wolfgang. *Shakespeares Widerspenstige—eine Clownerie?* Die Szene, xiv (1924), 179-192.

Hubbard, Frank G (ed.). *The First Quarto Edition of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Frank G. Hubbard. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1924.

Notice in LTS., Feb. 19, 1925, p. 123; rev. by Robert Adger Law in JEGP., xxiv, 434-436. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 298.

Imelmann, Rudolf (trans.). *Coriolanus*. Leipzig: Inselverlag, 1925. Pp. 201.

Notice in Archiv, N. S. xlviii, 303.

Jaggard, William. *Shakespeare Memorial: Stratford-on-Avon. Fifty Years' Retrospect, with Records of Plays and Players*. Stratford-on-Avon: Shakespeare Press, 1925. Pp. 36.

Jensen, Johann C. *Hamlet*. Die neue Rundschau, xxxvi, 5.

Jiriczek, O. L. *Zu Hamlet II*, 2, 156. Neueren Sprachen, xxxiii, 346-348.

Jusserend, J. J. *School for Ambassadors, and Other Essays*. London: Unwin; New York: Putnam, 1924. Pp. 355.

For reviews see Book Review Digest 1925. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 299.

Kaufman, Paul. *Outline Guide to Shakespeare*. New York: The Century Co., 1924. Pp. xvi, 326.

Rev. in Lit. Zentr.-bl., lxxvi (June 15, 1925), 961. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 299.

Kaufman, Paul. *The Shakespeare Forum*. Shakespeare Association Bulletin, Vol. i, No. 2, pp. 7-11.

A department of the bulletin having to do with the work of Shakespeare clubs, this paper being introductory. The editor, Dr. Kaufman, asks that programs, suggestions, and questions be sent to him at American University, Washington, D. C.

Kellner, Leon. *Restoring Shakespeare: A critical Analysis of the Misreadings in Shakespeare's Works*. London: Allen and Unwin; New York: Knopf, 1925. Pp. xvi, 216.

Rev. in LTS., July 23, 1925, p. 493; see also letter by W. W. Greg, LTS., Aug. 20, 1925, p. 545; rev. by W. W. Greg, RES., I, 463-478; notice in Living Age, cccxxvii, 262; rev. by Samuel C. Chew in Nation (N. Y.), cxxi, 436-438; by Frank Kendon in London Mercury, xiii, 214-216; by B. A. P. Van Dam in English Studies, vii, 150-154; in Lit. Zentr.-bl., lxxvi (Oct. 31, 1925), 1744.

Professor Kellner's book is severely reviewed by Dr. Greg in RES., as above. Dr. Greg gives him credit, however, for his attempt to approach the problem of the criticism of Shakespeare's text scientifically. Professor Kellner certainly deserves this and greater credit. He has organized his critical apparatus with thorough care, although he has confined himself somewhat narrowly to mistakes which may have arisen from the misreading of Elizabethan handwriting by Elizabethan printers. It cannot be said that all of the differences between quartos and folios which he cites as his first ground-work are certainly due to misreadings; nor are all of his accepted emendations from Shakespeare editors to be considered as *emendationes certissimae*. The attack is none-the-less interesting and significant. It is unfortunately in his own third group of emendations, which he himself proposes, that his book is most unsatisfactory. At least two out of three of the passages he would emend do not seem in need of emendation; and when it is not necessary to emend the text of Shakespeare, it is necessary not to emend it. He might have proceeded here, as in other other cases, on the basis of authority, tried to correct fewer passages and passages recognized as in need of correction, and so produced a sounder and more convincing book.

Kellner, Leon. *Cymbeline. Eine textkritische Studie*. Palaestra, 148.

Kerl, Erich. *Das Hendiadyoin bei Shakespeare*. In Jahrbuch der philos. Facultät der Philipps-Universität zu Marburg. 1922-1923. Marburg, 1924. P. 128.

Announcement of dissertation.

Klastersky, Ant (trans.). *William Shakespeare: Zneuctení Lukrecie, Nárek milencin, Vásnivý poutník* (The Rape of Lucrece, A Lover's Complaint, The Passionate Pilgrim). Prague: J. Otto, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., July 2, 1925, p. 448.

Final volume of a complete Czech translation of Shakespeare.

Kozul, A (trans.). *Le tragédie de Roméo et Juliette*. Collection Shakespeare: Texte anglais-français. Paris: Dent, 1924.

Rev. by A. Feuillerat in Rev. Ang. Am., II, 336-339.

Kühnemund, Richard. *Die Rolle des Zufalls in Shakespeares*

Meistertragödien. Studien zur engl. Philologie, LXVII.
Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1923.

Notice by J. S. S. in *MLR.*, xx, 107-108. See this Bibliography,
1925, pp. 299-300.

Kuhl, Ernest P. *The Authorship of The Taming of the Shrew.*
PMLA., xl, 551-618.

This is the most careful and extensive study of the subject ever made. Professor Kuhl's conclusions are that the whole play is from Shakespeare's hand. There can be no doubt that he has disposed of the arguments advanced by other scholars for dual authorship; and I should say for one that what has seemed to me to come out of the reading of his article is the conviction that certainly Shakespeare had a hand in the so-called un-Shakespearean portions of the play. I do not think, however, that the hypothesis that Shakespeare revised his own or another man's work is untenable. What Dr. Kuhl has shown certainly is that Shakespeare's hand enters far more extensively into all parts of the play than has hitherto been believed. On pp. 563-564 will be found an interesting study of Italians in Elizabethan London.

Kuhl, Ernest P. Shakspeare's "*Lead Apes in Hell*" and the Ballad of "*The Maid and the Palmer.*" *SP.*, xxii, 453-466.

Lambin, G. *Note sur Shakespeare, Richard II, acte I, scene III.*
Rev. Ang. Am., ii, 238-241.

Lamborn, E. A. G., and Harrison, G. B. *Shakespeare, the Man and his Stage.* The World's Manuals. Oxford University Press, 1923. Pp. 128.

Rev. by A. W. Reed in *History*, x, 260-262. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 431.

Law, Ernest. *Shakespeare's Garden, Stratford-on-Avon.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1924.

Rev. by Osbert Burdett in *London Mercury*, xii, 101-103. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 300.

Law, Robert Adger. *Tripartite Gaul in the Story of King Leir.* University of Texas Bulletin. Studies in English, 4 (University of Texas Press, 1924), pp. 39-48.

Lawrence, Basil E. *Notes on the Authorship of the Shakespeare Plays and Poems.* London: Gay and Hancock, 1925. Pp. 398.

Notice in *LTS.*, Aug. 27, 1925, p. 559; in *English Review*, xl, 824;

by Lewis Horrox in *Nation & Ath.*, xxxvii, 77-78. Mr. Lawrence is a Baconian.

Lebrun-Sudry, Mme (trans.). *Le Marchand de Venise*. Collection Shakespeare: Texte Anglais-français. Paris: Dent, 1924.

Rev. by A. Feuillerat in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, II, pp. 336-339.

Lee, Sir Sidney, and Chambers, Sir Edmund. *Shakespeare Reference Library*. Second ed. London: Milford, for the English Association, 1925.

Legouis, Émile. *Hérétiques et orthodoxes*. *Rev. Ang. Am.*, III, 58-67.

Reviews of various recent books on Shakespeare.

Legouis, Émile. *La Révolte de l'Inde contre Shakespeare*. *Rev.*, *Ang. Am.*, II, 193-203.

Rev. of *Shakespeare's Macbeth, an Oriental Study* (1921), and *Shakespeare's Othello* (1923) by Smarajit Dutt. Calcutta (Bani Press).

Lehtonen, J. V. *Un passage de Shakespeare dans les Récits de l'enseigne Stal de Runeberg*. Neuphilolog. Mitteilungen. Helsingfors, 1925.

Lemaître, Jules. *Theatrical Impressions*. Selected and translated by Frederic Whyte. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1925.

Rev. in *LTS.*, Feb. 26, 1925, p. 134.

Contains essays on Shakespeare.

Levi, C. *I drammi romani di Shakespeare*. I libri del giorno, June 1925.

Libbis, G. Hilder. *William Henry Ireland*. *N & Q.*, Vol. 148, p. 408; Cock, F. William, *ibid.*, p. 447.

Linthicum, Marie C. L. *Shakespeare's Meacocke*. *MLN.*, XL, 96-98.

Reference to *The Taming of the Shrew*, II, i, 307 ff.

Loane, George G. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. *LTS.*, Mar. 19, 1925, p. 200.

Suggests interpretations differing from those of Tucker for lines in Sonnet CV and others.

Longworth-Chambrun, Mme. *Influences françaises dans La Tempête de Shakespeare*. *Rev. Lit. Comp.*, v, 37-59.

Italians and Italian activities in London are interestingly summed

up and briefly discussed on pp. 38-39. The author argues strongly that Shakespeare had access in writing *The Tempest* and other plays to Rabelais as well as to Montaigne.

Longworth-Chambrun, Mme. *Shakespeare, Southampton et la conjuration d'Essex*. Rev. Ang. Am., III, fasc. i (Oct. 1925).

Looten, C. *Shakespeare et la religion*. Paris: Perrin, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 244, 1925, p. 618; by A. Bruel in Rev. Ang. Am., II, 165.

Luce, Morton. *Botany in Shakespeare*. Nineteenth Century, xcviII, 591-604.

Mr. Luce finds in Shakespeare's later plays a growing tenderness for nature, particularly, for flowers.

Ludwig, Albert. *Zur Aufnahme Shakespeares und Vorbereitung Schillers im deutschen Bühnendrama*. Festschrift zum 19. Neuphilologentage in Berlin, pp. 73-80. Berlin: Stolberg, 1924.

Ludwig, Otto. *Das Schauspielerische in Shakespeares Dramen*. Masken, xviii, 117-119.

MacDonald, George. *The Tragedie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. A Study with the Text of the Folio of 1623*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1924. Pp. xvi, 277.

Rev. by Jules Derocquigny in Rev. Ang. Am., II, 339-341; notice in Lit. Zentr.-bl., LXXVI (Feb. 15, 1925), 259. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 301.

Madan, F. *A Shakespeare Emendation*. LTS., Apr. 23, 1925, 284.

Suggests *milice* (from *militia*) as an emendation of *malice* in J. C., III, i, 175; rejected by Henry Cuninghame in LTS., Apr. 30, 1925, p. 300; also letter by A. C. R. Carter, LTS., May 14, 1925, 335.

Maillet, F. P. "We fail?" (*Macb.*, 1-7-59). Rev. Ang. Am., III, 56-57.

Malone, Kemp. *The Literary History of Hamlet*. I. The Early Tradition. Anglistische Forschungen, 59. Heidelberg: 1923. Pp. xiv, 268.

Rev. by William Dinsmore Briggs in JEGP., xxiv, 413-424. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 301.

Malone, Kemp. *On the Etymology of Hamlet*. PQ., IV, 158-160.

Reply to review by A. LeRoy Andrews, PQ., III, 318-320. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 301.

- Marie, A. *À la recherche de Shakespeare*. Paris: Presses françaises, 1925. Pp. 264.
- Marstrand, Günther. *Shakespeares neues Gesicht*. Die Drei. Monatsschrift für Anthroposophie, Dreigliederung und Goetheanismus, v (Oct. 1925), 534-545.
- Masefield, John. *Shakespeare and Spiritual Life*. Romanes Lecture for 1924. Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. 32.
Notice in JEGP., xxiv, 459; by Hans Hecht in Lit. Zentr.-bl., lxxvi (June 30, 1925), 1036-1037. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 301.
- Masefield, John. *William Shakespeare*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1925. Pp. 256.
New edn. First published in 1911.
- Memorabilia*. N & Q., Vol. 149, p. 91.
"Hamlet's grave" at Elsinore.
- Memorabilia*. N & Q., Vol. 149, p. 217.
States that Mr. W. J. Lawrence "had informed Mr. William Poel of his discovery that 'Hamlet, Quarto II, was first produced in 1600.'" This discovery was also announced without confirmatory evidence by Mr. Lawrence at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in Chicago in Dec. 1925.
- Merrill, Charles Edmund, Jr. *Original Letters, etc. of Sir John Falstaff and his Friends*. By James White. Reprinted with an Introductory Note. New York: Harpers, 1924.
Rev. in Saturday Review of Literature, II, 179.
- Mertz, Wendel. *Die Shakespeare-Ausgabe von Theobald (1733)*. Giessener Beiträge zur Erforschung der Sprache und Kultur Englands und Nordamerikas, II (1925), 193-248. Giessen: Verlag des englischen Seminars, 1925.
- Minney, R. J. *Shakespeare in India*. Empire Review, xli (May 1925), 533-536.
- Mis, Léon. *Les Études sur Shakspeare d'Otto Ludwig exposées dans un ordre méthodique et précédées d'une introduction littéraire*. Lille: Imprimerie centrale du nord, 1922. Pp. 106.
Rev. by Albert Ludwig in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 256-259.
- Morgan, Appleton. *Mrs. Shakespeare's Second Marriage*. New York: Shakespeare Society, 1925.
- Moosmann, Eberhard. *Shakespeares König Heinrich IV. Erster*

- Teil*. Eine Vorlesung für Primaner in englischer Sprache. Die Neueren Sprachen, 8. Beiheft. Marburg: N. G. Elwertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1925. Pp. 66.
- Moosmann, Eberhard. *Shakespeares Macbeth*. Eine Vorlesung für Primaner in englischer Sprache. Die Neueren Sprachen, 9. Beiheft. Marburg: N. G. Elwertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1925. Pp. 89.
- Morsbach, Lorenz. *Der Weg zu Shakespeare und des Hamlet-drama*. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1922. Pp. viii, 111.
Rev. by Kemp Malone in JEGP., xxiv, 432-434; by Josef Wihan in Euphoriön, xxvi, 300-303. See this Bibliography, 1924, pp. 433-434; 1925, p. 302.
- Murry, John Middleton. *Keats and Shakespeare. A Study of Keats' Poetical Life from 1816-1820*. Oxford University Press, 1925.
Rev. in LTS., Oct. 1, 1925, p. 634; by Bonamy Dobrée in Living Age, 327, 480 (from Nation & Ath.).
The book has only the remotest connection with Shakespeare.
- Muskat, C. G. *Die Lösung der Shakespeare-Frage*. Leipzig: Reisland, 1925. Pp. 31.
Thinks it improbable that W. Shaksper of Stratford should have written the plays.
- Nag, W. C. *On "A Midsummer Night's Dream." A Study in Dramatic Technique to Illustrate the Idea of Balance in Plot-Making*. Dacca University Bulletins. London: Milford, for the University, 1925. Pp. 12.
- Neruda, Jan. *Ist Shylock ein Clown oder ein Juda Makkabaeus?* Das Zelt, 1 (1925), 235-237. (See Lit. Zentr.-bl., LXXVI [Nov. 30, 1925], 1891.)
- Noble, Richmond. *Shakespeare's Use of Song, with the Text of the Principal Songs*. Oxford University Press, 1923.
Notice by H. V. R. in MLR., xx, 107. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 302.
- Norwood, Gilbert. *A Twisted Masterpiece*. Contemporary Review, CXXVII, 590-598.
Points out inconsistencies and obscurities in regard to psychology and political relations in the play of *King Lear*.
- Osborne, W. A. "*Scamels*" in "*The Tempest*." MLR., xx, 73.

Palmer, John. *Hamlet in Modern Dress*. Fortnightly Review, N. S. CXVIII, 675-683.

One of scores of such articles—an intelligent one. They vary from the lowest ignorance to the most knowing theatrical superciliousness.

Pancoast, Henry S. *Note on King Lear*. (V, ii, 9-11.) MLN., XL, 404-408.

Pange, Mme. J. de. *Shakespeare en France*. Gaulois du dimanche, Apr. 11, 1925.

Parsons, J. Denham. *Did "Shake-speare" Signal?* London: Author, 45 Sutton Court-road, Chiswick, W., 1925. Pp. 19. Extended notice in LTS., July 9, 1925, p. 466.

Peers, E. Allison. *Rivas and Romanticism in Spain*. Liverpool: University Press, 1923.

Rev. by S. Griswold Morley in MLR., xx, 97-99.

Points out certain influences of Shakespeare.

Pininski, Leon. *Shakespeare: Wrazenia i Szkice z Tworczosci Poety*. Two vol. Lwow: Wydawnictwo zakadu narodowege im. Ossolinskich, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., June 25, 1925, p. 432.

A general critical work on Shakespeare in Polish.

Ploch, G. *Über den Dialog in den Dramen Shakespeares und seiner Vorläufer*. Giessener Beiträge zur Erforschung der Sprache und Kultur Englands und Nordamerikas, II (1925), 129-192. Giessen: Verlag des englischen Seminars, 1925.

This study takes up the subject where Julius Haller (*Die Technik des Dialogs im mittelalterlichen Drama Englands* Diss. Giessen, 1916) left off. The study is from the following points of view: Influence of the material, literary tradition, and genius of the author. See Lit. Zentr.-bl., LXXVI (May 31, 1925), 828.

Pollard, A. W. *The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text*. British Academy lecture. Oxford University Press, 1923.

Rev. by F. Liebermann in Archiv, N. S. XLIX, 113-114; by Hans Hecht in Deutsche Vierteljahrschr., III, 284. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 435.

Pollard, A. W. *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*. Second ed. Revised with an Introduction. Cambridge University Press, 1920. Pp. xxviii, 110.

Rev. by Phil. Aronstein in English Studies, LIX, 440-444. See this Bibliography, 1922, pp. 265-267; 1925, p. 302.

Pollard, A. W., and others. *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of "Sir Thomas More."* Cambridge University Press, 1923. Pp. viii, 244.

Rev. by Phil. Aronstein in *Eng. Stud.*, LIX, 444-450. See this Bibliography, 1923, pp. 435-436; 1925, p. 302.

Separate print of the Shakespearean scene by Ernst Ludwig Presse zu Darmstadt with translation into German by Friedrich Brie (see *Lit. Zentr.-bl.*, LXXVI [Nov. 30, 1925], 1891).

Priestley, J. B. *The English Comic Characters.* London: Lane, 1925. Pp. 276.

Rev. in *LTS.*, Apr. 30, 1925, p. 297; by D. B. W. in *New Republic*, XLV, 25; by S. de M. in *Contemporary Review*, 128, 123-125; in *Edin. Rev.*, 242, 207; by J. R. Ackerley in *London Mercury*, XIII, 661-663; in *Quarterly Review*, 245, 216-217; by Leonard Woolf in *Nation & Ath.*, XXXVII, 177. For other reviews see *Book Review Digest*, 1925. Treats Bottom, Falstaff, Touchstone, and others.

Prölss, Robert. *Shakespeare's Hamlet.* Erlaut. 2. Aufl., durchgesehen v. Alfr. Heil. Leipzig: E. Wartig, 1925. Pp. 327.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, and Wilson, J. Dover (eds.). *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* The New Cambridge Shakespeare. Cambridge University Press, 1924.

Rev. in *N & Q.*, Vol. 148, pp. 17-18; by R. B. McKerrow in *RES.*, I, 495-497; by Sir Edmund Chambers in *MLR.*, XX, 340-345; by A. W. P. in *Library*, v, 372-375; in *Lit. Zentr.-bl.*, LXXVI (June 15, 1925), 951. See also Richmond Noble, *The "Midsummer Night's Dream,"* *LTS.*, Jan. 8, 1925, p. 24, comment on printing and interpretation of song, act V, sc. i, ll. 399-421. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 303.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, and Wilson, J. Dover (eds.). *The Works of Shakespeare.* Cambridge University Press, 1921-1925.

Rev., *Le "Nouveau Shakespeare,"* by F.-C. Danchin in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, II, 501-514. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 303.

Rea, John D. *Jaques on the Microcosm.* *PQ.*, IV, 345-347.

Professor William A. Heidel, Wesleyan University, has called attention to the fact that this article makes no mention of the important contribution of F. Boll, "Die Lebensalter," in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte, und deutsche Literatur*, XXXI (1913), 91-145, and to various materials there referred to.

Rea, John D. "This Figure That Thou Here Seest Put." *MP.*, XXII, 417-419.

Points out that Jonson's lines facing the portrait of Shakespeare in the Folio are a form of a set of verses by Gilbertus Cognatus first printed with one of Holbein's portraits of Erasmus on the verso of the title-page of the *Adagia* (1533), though originating with Erasmus himself at an earlier date.

Reyher, Paul. *La date de Cymbeline*. Rev. Ang. Am., June 1925, pp. 428-430.

Evidence for the year 1610.

Reyher, Paul. *Greene et Shakespeare*. Rev. Ang. Am., II, 51-54. Slight parallels between *As You Like It* and *James IV*.

Robertson, J. M. *The Naturalistic Theory of Hamlet*. Criterion (London), III, 172-192.

Robertson, J. M. *The Shakespeare Canon. Part II*. London: Routledge, 1923.

Rev. by A. Koszul in Rev. Ang. Am., II, 440-441. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 439; 1925, p. 303.

Robertson, J. M. *The Shakespeare Canon. Part III*. London: Routledge, 1925. Pp. xv, 206.

Rev. in LTS., June 11, 1925, p. 396.

Russell, H. P. *Some Notes on Shakespeare's Catholicity*. Catholic World, CXXII, 40-44.

Saitschick, Robert. *Genie und Charakter. Shakespeare—Lessing—Goethe—Schiller—Schopenhauer—Wagner*. 2. verm. u. verb. Aufl. Darmstadt and Leipzig: Hoffman, 1926. Pp. viii, 359.

Two chapters (pp. 1-34) deal with Shakespeare: 1. Problem des Charakters. 2. Schauen.

Schäfer, Elizabeth. *Shakespeare und das Domestic-Drama*. Germ.-rom. Monatschrift, XIII (July-Aug. 1925), 202-218, 286-295.

Schaukel, Richard (trans.). *William Shakespeare. Der Sturm*. Mit Originallithographien von Oskar Laske. Wien: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1925. Pp. 115.

Schücking, Levin L. *Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More*. RES., I, 40-59.

A review of the book *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More*. Cambridge University Press, 1923. It is the most serious attack which has yet been made on the conclusions or probabilities set forth in that book. The chief ground of Professor Schücking's

attack is literary, and his opinion is certainly not more valuable than that of the authors themselves. He expresses dissatisfaction with the determinations of hand-writing, but does not go into it deeply. Over against what he has to say may be placed the conclusions of Mr. Tannenbaum, which are as a whole favorable. (See SP., XXII, 392-411.) Professor Schücking's attitude, be it said, is fair and friendly.

Schücking, L. L., and Schaubert, Else von (eds.). *William Shakespeare. Twelfth Night or What you will. As you like it. Was ihr wollt. Wie es euch gefällt.* Deutsch von A. W. von Schlegel. Leipzig: Tempelverlag, 1925. Pp. 223.

Schutt, J. H. *Prof. Moulton and Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice.* English Studies, VI, 200-214.

Sehling, Emil. *Juristische Fragen bei Shakespeare und bei Karl May.* Karl-May-Jahrbuch, VIII (1925), 238-266.

Shakespeare, William. *The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare.* Six volumes. Nelson's Poets Series. London: Nelson, 1925.

A cheap edition; includes also the poems and sonnets.

Shakespeare, William. *Werke.* In Einzelausgaben. *Julius Cäsar.* Auf Grund der Übersetzung A. W. Schlegel's bearb. von Ludwig Fränkel. *Coriolanus.* Übertragen von Rudolf Imelmann. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1925.

Shakespeare and the Theater. Leading Article in LTS., June 18, 1925, pp. 404-405.

The Shakespeare Association of America. *Articles of Incorporation, By-Laws, Rules, Preliminary Plans.* Shakespeare Association Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 4-9, 20-21.

See also Editorial Notes, pp. 10-11, announcing editorial policy and program for Association.

Shakespeare's Sonnets. A Facsimile. With a Note by A. T. B. London: Cape, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 3, 1925, p. 831.

Showell, Charles. *The Shakespeare Country. Shakespeare's Avon from Source to Severn.* London: Black, 1925. Pp. vi, 26. Notice in LTS., Oct. 29, 1925, p. 723.

Sievers, Eduard. *Shakespeares Anteil am King Lear.* Palaestra, 148.

Simpson, H. Derwernt. *The Shakespeare Signatures.* LTS., Jan. 22, 1925, p. 56.

Further information on the authentication of wills, in reply to Sir George Greenwood's letter in *LTS.*, Jan. 15, 1925, p. 40.

Simpson, Percy. *The Bibliographical Study of Shakespeare*. Oxford Bibliographical Society. Proceedings and Papers, I, 19-53. Oxford, 1923.

Rev. by Hans Hecht, *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift*, III, 284. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 440.

Smith, H. Greenhough. *Odd Moments*. London: Newnes, 1925. Pp. 181.

Contains a brief essay on Shakespeare.

Snider, Denton J. *A Biography of William Shakespeare. Set forth as to his Life Drama*. London: Selwyn and Blount, 1925.

First published in the United States in 1922.

Rev. by Lewis Horrox in *Nation & Ath.*, XXXVII, 77-78.

Snider, Denton J. *The Rise of Young Shakespeare. A Biographical Novel*. St. Louis: William Harvey Miner, 1925.

Snider, Denton J. *Shakespeare Commentaries*. I. The Tragedies. II. The Comedies. III. The Histories. Vol. I. Boston: Ticknor, 1887. Pp. xiv, 418. Vol. II. St. Louis: Sigma Publ. Co., 1890. Pp. 595. Vol. III. St. Louis: Sigma Publ. Co., 1890. Pp. 508. Three parts. London: Selwin and Blount, 1925.

Rev. by Lewis Horrox in *Nation & Ath.*, XXXVII, 77-78.

A writer with a strong bias towards ethical backgrounds.

Spencer, Hazelton. *D'Avenant's Macbeth and Shakespeare's*. *PMLA.*, XL, 619-644.

Spielmann, M. H. *The Royal Society's Shakespeare Second Folio*. *LTS.*, Apr. 23, 1925, p. 284; see reply by F. S. Ferguson, *LTS.*, Apr. 30, 1925, p. 300; and M. H. Spielmann's further letter, *LTS.*, May 7, 1925, p. 316.

Steinitzer, Alfred. *Shakespeares Königsdramen. Geschichtliche Einführung*. München: C. H. Beck, 1922. Pp. vi, 348.

Rev. by Hermann M. Flasdieck in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI, 70-73. See this Bibliography, 1923, p. 268; 1924, p. 440; 1925, p. 305.

Stockley, W. F. P. *King Henry the Fifth's Poet Historical*. London: Heth Cranton, 1925. Pp. 152.

Notice in *LTS.*, Oct. 22, 1925, p. 701.

Stockley, W. F. P. *Shakespeare in Uncomely Parts and Comely*.
Dublin Rev., CLXXVI, 191-210.

Brief studies of characters, well written, clerical, sentimental.

Stokes, Francis Griffin. *A Dictionary of the Characters and the Proper Names in the Works of Shakespeare: With Notes on the Sources and Dates of the Plays and Poems*. London: Harrap, 1924. Pp. xvi, 360.

Notice by G. C. M. S. in MLR., XX, 108; in Lit. Zentr.-bl., LXXVI (Oct. 31, 1925), 1745. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 305.

Studies in English. The Charles University. Prague: F. Kivnáče, 1924.

Contains a study of "The Comic and Pathetic in Shakespeare's Comedies."

Studies in the First Folio: Written for the Shakespeare Association in Celebration of the First Folio Tercentenary, and Read at Meetings of the Association held at King's College, University of London, May-June, 1923, by M. H. Spielmann, J. Dover Wilson, Sir Sidney Lee, R. Compton Rhodes, W. W. Greg, and Allardyce Nicoll. With an Introduction by Sir Israel Gollancz. London: Milford, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Apr. 23, 1925, p. 280. Letter in reference to the painting of the Stratford Monument by R. Compton Rhodes, LTS., May 7, 1925, p. 316; rev. in N & Q., Vol. 148, pp. 287-288; by R. B. McKerrow in RES., I, 492-494; by F. S. Boas in MLR., XX, 470-473; by A. W. P. in Library, VI, 182-185; in Living Age, XXXVIII (325), 557-558; by George Saintsbury in Nation & Ath., XXXVI, 890.

Sugden, Edward H. *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists*. Manchester: The University Press, 1925. Pp. xix, 580.

Rev. in LTS., May 14, 1925, p. 330; in N & Q., Vol. 149, pp. 251-252; by Samuel C. Chew in Nation (N. Y.), CXXI, 436-438.

Tannenbaum, Samuel A. *Reclaiming One of Shakespeare's Signatures*. SP., XXII, 392-411.

A careful study of the "Montaigne" signature of Shakespeare, so plausible and conservative in its procedure as to increase one's faith in the genuineness of that autograph.

Tannenbaum, Samuel A. *Shakespeare's Unquestioned Autographs and the Additions to "Sir Thomas More"*. SP., 133-160.

Taylor, George Coffin. *Shakspeare's Debt to Montaigne*. Harvard University Press, 1925. Pp. 66.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 24, 1925, p. 895.

This is a clear, concise book which gives the results of an extended study of Florio's Montaigne and the works of Shakespeare. It is made up of parallels in words, phrases, and longer passages. Some of them seem to the reviewer so close as to be convincing; and of course if one grants that some of them are valid, the result is a heightened importance to others which are less obvious. The author has modestly declined to expatiate or to insist on parallels in points of view and life philosophy. To the body of new parallels are added tables of words and phrases used by Montaigne and by Shakespeare after, and not before, the appearance of the translation. These are progressively less frequent as time elapsed except in the case of *The Tempest*. To account for their higher frequency there it is suggested that Shakespeare may have reread Montaigne. The parallels in passages of greater length also grow fewer, and the whole situation constitutes an argument of probability that Shakespeare read Montaigne and was influenced by him very strongly at the time the translation was made, but gradually lost his conscious memory of the book.

Thompson, Lilian Gilchrist. *The Name of Gobbo*. LTS., Sept. 17, 1925, p. 600.

The name Gobbo occurs in Titchfield registers.

Thompson, William. *Shakespeare's Handwriting*. Quar. Rev., 244 (Apr. 1925), 209-226.

Argues that the scribblings on the title-page of the manuscript known as "Mr. Bacon's discourse in prayse of his Sovereigne" are in part genuine Shakespeare autograph. The name "William Shakespeare" occurs several times and also, as is known from Spedding's description, "Richard the Second," "Richard the Third."

Thorndike, Ashley Horace. *Why a Shakespeare Association?* Shakespeare Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 1-2.

Tilley, M. T. *Much Ado About Nothing* (V, i, 178). MLN, XL, 186-188.

Tilley, M. T. *Two Shakespearean Notes*. JEGP., XXIV, 315-324.

The first note cites the fact that fat and sweat were identical in a popular physiological misconception of Shakespeare's day as an explanation of *Ham.* V, ii, 274 (He's fat and scant of breath); the second deals with the meaning of "What is't o'clock?" in Elizabethan English.

Tolman, Albert H. *Falstaff and Other Shakespearean Topics*. New York: Macmillan, 1925. Pp. xi, 270.

This volume is a collection of papers on Shakespeare, most of which have been published before; mainly in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* and in *Modern Language Notes*. There are, however, a number of new essays. The quality of the book is conservative, and its merit is a marvelously sound exposition. The author is an intelligent Shakespeare scholar who knows the later points of view but is never swept off his feet by them. He takes up many perennial questions: such as drunkenness in Shakespeare's plays, the puritanism of Malvolio, the nature of the Fool in *King Lear*, Shakespeare's supposed references to his marriage, and says the sensible thing about each of them. In "The Early History of Shakespeare's Reputation," "Earnest and Jest in Shakespearean Scholarship, 1709-1747," and "The Proper Treatment of Shakespeare's Text," he gives mild and clear views of recent Shakespeare scholarship. To the reviewer the book is admirable, delightful, and characteristic. The longest groups of studies are devoted to *King Lear* and *Julius Caesar*.

Tucker, T. G. *The Sonnets of Shakespeare*. Cambridge University Press, 1924. Pp. 239.

Rev. by J. Dover Wilson in RES., I, 353-359; by Charles Garnier in Rev. Ang. Am., II, 542-545. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 306.

Tynan, Joseph L. *The Woman in the Case*. Shakespeare Association Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 3-6.

Recommends a somewhat psycho-analytic point of view in the study of Shakespeare and illustrates by a consideration of Lady Macbeth.

Van Dam, B. A. P. *The Text of Shakespeare's Hamlet*. London: John Lane, 1924. Pp. vii, 380.

Rev. by W. W. Greg in MLR., XX, 83-88; by Hardin Craig in PQ., IV, 187-188; see English Studies, VII, 21-23, reply by Van Dam to rev. by A. W. Pollard in that periodical, VI, 221 ff. See this Bibliography, 1925, pp. 306-307.

Van Dam, B. A. P. *Textual Criticism of Shakespeare's Plays*. English Studies, VII, 97-115.

Vogeler, Erich. *Wie steht's mit Hamlet?* Berliner Tageblatt, LIV (1925), Nr. 126.

Watt, H. A. *Plautus and Shakespeare. Further Comments on Menæchmi and The Comedy of Errors*. Class. Journal, XX, 401-407.

Wellstood, Frederick C. *Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, Works of Art, Antiquities, and Relics exhibited in Shake-*

Shakespeare's Birthplace. Compiled by Frederick C. Wellstood. With a Preface by Sir Sidney Lee. Stratford-on-Avon: Trustees and Guardians, 1925. Pp. 176.

Notice in LTS., June 25, 1925, p. 433; in N & Q., Vol. 149, p. 234.

Werner, Bruno E (trans.). *Shakespeare, Venus and Adonis.* Deutsche Übertragung. Leipzig: Inselverlag, 1924.

Notice in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 301-302.

Werner, Bruno E. *Venus und Adonis. Beitrag zur stilgeschichtlichen Betrachtung Shakespeares.* Das Inselfschiff, VI (Apr. 1925), 99-114.

Wheldon, F. W. *The Red King.* Norwich: Jarrold, 1924. Pp. 52.

Notice in LTS., Jan. 15, 1925, p. 41.

A modern play written in "Shakespearean prose," dealing with a slender historical theme of Norman England.

Wilder, Malcolm L. *Shakespeare's "Small Latin."* MLN., XL, 380-381.

Cites Senecan parallels (*Controversiae*, II, v, 12, and 20) to 1 *Hen.* IV, II, iii, 112, and 40-65; further parallels cited and arguments somewhat weakened in reply by G. L. Kittredge, *ibid.*, p. 440.

Willige, W. *Shakespeare als Dichter der Wiedergeburt.* Neue jbr. f. Wissensch. u. Jugend-bildung, I, (1925), 473-486.

Wilson, F. P. *The Jaggards and the First Folio of Shakespeare.* LTS., Nov. 5, 1925, p. 737.

This article cites entries of the First Folio and other contemporaneously published books in the *Mess-Katalog* of books on sale at the Spring and Autumn Fairs held at Frankfort-on-the-Main. The Catalogue was published by John Bill, King's printer from 1617 to 1628. The First Folio is entered not only in the catalogue for the Spring Mart of 1624 but also for the Autumn Mart of 1622. This surprising entry is explained by Mr. Wilson, no doubt rightly, as due to the delay, long suspected, encountered by the publishers of the Folio. It seems to indicate that the Jaggards hoped that the book would be ready for circulation probably eighteen months before it was actually issued.

Wilson, Richard (ed.). *The Famous History of the Life of King Henry VIII.* By William Shakespeare and John Fletcher. Kings' Treasures of Literature. London: Dent, 1925.

Winstanley, Lilian. *Othello as the Tragedy of Italy, showing that Shakespeare's Italian Contemporaries interpreted the Story*

of the Moor and the Lady of Venice as symbolizing their Country in the Grip of Spain. London: Fisher Unwin, 1924. Pp. 152.

Notice in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 303; rev. by G. S. Gargano in Marzocco, XXX, 45 (Nov. 9, 1925), which opposes the rather singular theory advanced by Miss Winstanley. (B) Rev. by Osbert Burdett in London Mercury, XII, 101-103; in Lit. Zentr.-bl., LXXVI (June 15, 1925), 952-953. See this Bibliography, 1925, pp. 308-309.

Wolff, Max (ed.). *Shakespeare, Die Beiden Veroneser. Auf Grund der Übertragung von Dorothea Tieck.* Leipzig: Inselverlag, 1925.

Wolff, Max J (ed.). *Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida, Auf Grund der Übertragung Baudissins.* Leipzig: Inselverlag, 1925. Pp. 197.

Notice in Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 303.

IV. NON-DRAMATIC WORKS.

Allen, P. S. *Erasmus's Services to Learning.* London: Milford, for the British Academy, 1925. Pp. 20.

Ardagh, J. *Abraham Cowley.* N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 229.

Biographical data.

Ault, Norman (ed.). *Elizabethan Lyrics from the Original Texts.* London: Longmans, 1925. Pp. xv, 536.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 26, 1925, p. 796.

Bell, Aubrey F. G. *Cetina's Madrigal.* MLR., XX, 179-183.

Bensley Edward. *Alexander Hume.* N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 102.

Biographical detail concerning the author of *Grammatica Nova*, 1612.

Bergen, Henry (ed.). *Lydgate's Fall of Princes.* Three vols. Vol. iv in preparation. The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1923. Pp. lxxv, 1044.

Rev. by Eleanor Prescott Hammond, Beiblatt, XXXVI, 15-20, with interesting remarks on *The Fall of Princes* as a piece of transitional literature; see also rev. by Max Forster, Beiblatt, XXXVI, 33-42.

Blackie, E. M (ed.). *A Most Friendly Farewell to Sir Francis Drake. By Henry Robarts.* Transcribed with a short Introduction by E. M. Blackie. Harvard University Press, 1924.

Notice in Library, V, 383; in Sewanee Rev., XXXIII, 255; in LTS., Feb.

26, 1925, p. 141; by E. P. K. in MCN., XL, 128. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 323.

Bodley Head Quartos. Vols. IX, X. London: Lane, 1924.

Notice by R. B. McK. in MLR., XX, 371; by René Pruvost in Rev. Ang. Am., II, 342-344.

The contents of these volumes are: King James's *Daemonologie*, 1597; *News from Scotland declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Doctor Fian*, 1591; and Robert Greene's *Blacke Bookes Messenger*, 1592, with 'Cuthbert Conny-Catcher's' *Defense of Conny-Catching*, 1592.

Borchardt, Georg. *Schreibung, Aussprache und Formenbau im Tagebuch des Richard Cocks (1615-1622)*. Giessen: Englisches Seminar, 1925. Pp. 30.

Bredvold, Louis I. *The Religious Thought of Donne in Relation to Medieval and Later Traditions*. In *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*. By Members of the Department of English of the University of Michigan (New York: Macmillan, 1925. Pp. 232), 193-232.

Bridges, Horace (ed.). *Erasmus: In Praise of Folly*. Edited with an Essay of Appreciation by Horace Bridges. Also the pictures of Holbein etched in the author's time, to which are added Mr. Angarola's conception of the period and drawings by way of contemporary comment by Gene Markey, new ltd. ed. Chicago: P. Covici, 1925. Pp. lvii, 280.

Brie, Friedrich. *Ein verschollenes Gedicht von Joshuah Sylvester*. Archiv, N. S. XLVIII, 247-249.

Brougham, Eleanor M (ed.). *Varia: A Miscellany of Verse and Prose. Ancient and Modern*. Compiled and Annotated by Eleanor M. Brougham. London: Heinemann, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., June 25, 1925, p. 429; in N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 396.

Brown, W. J. *Jeremy Taylor*. English Theologians. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1925. Pp. 224. Notice in LTS., Oct. 22, 1925, p. 703.

Bullen, A. H. *Elizabethans*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1924. Pp. xi, 226.

Rev. by R. B. McKerrow, RES., I, 118-120; by G. C. Moore Smith in MLR., XX, 88-90; in Lit. Zentr.-bl., LXXVI (Feb. 15, 1925), 259. See this Bibliography, 1925, pp. 310-311.

Bullock, Walter L. *The Genesis of the English Sonnet Form*. PMLA., xxxviii, 729-744.

Rev. by F. Neri in *La Cultura*, iv, 231 ff. Signior Neri thinks Wyatt's form, and consequently the English form, was due to madrigal influence; but is this probable if Wyatt was deliberately setting out to introduce the Italian sonnet form—quite separately from the madrigal, which he shows that he also knew well enough—into English poetry? (B)

Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. With 150 drawings by E. McKnight Kauffer. London: Nonesuch Press, 1925.

Bush, J. N. Douglas. *Classical Lives in "The Mirror for Magistrates."* SP., xxii, 256-266.

Bush, J. N. Douglas. *Martin Parker's Philomela*. MLN., xl, 486-488.

Campagnac, E. T (ed.). *Mulcaster's Elementarie*. Oxford University Press, 1925. Pp. xxiv, 292.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 17, 1925, p. 881; by J. E. G. de M. in *Contemporary Review*, cxxviii, pp. 805-807; in N & Q., Vol. 149, p. 413.

Campbell, W. E (ed.). *The Last Letters of the Blessed Thomas More. Introduced by Cardinal Gasquet, and Edited, with Connecting Narrative*. Catholic Library. Roehampton: Manresa Press, 1925. Pp. xviii, 123.

Cawley, Robert Ralston. *Drayton's Use of Welsh History*. SP., xxii, 234-255.

Chamberlin, Frederick. *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1923. Pp. lxi, 324.

Rev. by Alwin Thaler in *University of California Chronicle*, 1925, pp. 225-228. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 453; 1925, p. 324.

Chamberlin, Frederick. *The Wit and Wisdom of Queen Bess*. London: Lane, 1925.

Based on the author's *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth*.

See *infra* Neale, J. E., and this Bibliography, 1925, p. 324. Rev. in *Saturday Review*, cxi, 633.

Clarke, Henry Lowther, and Weech, W. N. *History of Sedbergh School, 1595-1925*. Sedbergh: Jackson and Son, 1925.

Notice in LTS., Sept. 10, 1925, p. 585.

Contains material about Lupton.

Crofts, J. E. V (ed.). *The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes. Drawen out of Spanish by David Rouland of Anglesey, 1586.* Percy Reprints. Oxford: Blackwell, 1924.

Rev. by Paul Dattin in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, II, 438; by John Freeman in *London Mercury*, XII, 545-546. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 335.

D., K. W. *Miles Blomefield.* LTS., Sept. 10, 1925, p. 584.

Daniel, Mary Samuel, and Osborne, F. M. *Two Elizabethans. I. An Elizabethan Wordsworth* (by Mary Samuel Daniel). *II. An Elizabethan Schoolmaster* (by F. M. Osborne). Dublin Review, CLXXVI, pp. 108-119.

The first referred to is Samuel Daniel; the second, Richard Mulcaster. Neither study is important.

Dickins, Bruce (ed.). *The Testament of Cresseid. By Robert Henryson.* Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1925. Pp. 46.
Notice in LTS., June 18, 1925, p. 419.

Dormer, Ernest W. *Gray of Reading, sixteenth Century Controversialist and Ballad-writer.* Reading: Bradley and Son, 1924.

Notice by A. F. P. in *History*, IX, 358-359. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 312.

Draper, W. H. *Donne's Devotion and Death's Duell.* The Abbey Classics. London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1925.

Durham, Herbert, Lord Bishop of. *Richard Baxter.* Contemporary Review, CXXVII, 50-58.

Elton, Oliver (ed.). *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.* Vol. XI. Oxford University Press, 1925. Pp. 169.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 31, 1925, p. 907.

Contains L. C. Martin's *Forgotten Poet of the Seventeenth Century*, and Janet Spens's *Chapman's Ethical Thought*.

England's Helicon. Reprinted from the Edition of 1600 with additional Poems from the Edition of 1614. Haslewood Books. London: Etchells and Macdonald, 1925. Pp. ix, 256.

Rev. in LTS., Apr. 9, 1925, pp. 257-8; see also letter by Hugh MacDonald, LTS., Apr. 23, 1925, p. 284; and reviewer's reply, LTS., Apr. 30, 1925, p. 300; reply to reply by Hugh MacDonald, May 7,

1925, p. 316, and letter by M. St. Clare Byrne. Further letters by Gwendolen Murphy, Henrietta C. Bartlett, and Hugh MacDonald, LTS., May 14, 1925, p. 335, and May 21, 1925, p. 352.

Fausset, Hugh l'Anson. *John Donne: A Study in Discord*. New York: Harcourt, 1923. Pp. 318.

Rev. by Richard Aldington in *New Republic*, XLII, 164-165; for other reviews see *Book Review Digest*, 1925. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 312.

Feasey, Eveline I. *William Baldwin*. MLR., XX, 407-418.

Fellowes, E. H. *The English Madrigal*. London: Milford, 1925. Pp. 111.

Notice in LTS., Nov. 19, 1925, p. 774. Has to do mainly with Elizabethan music.

Fleming, W. K. *Some Truths about John Inglesant*. Quarterly Review, CCXLV, 130-148.

Shows that numerous passages in Shorthouse's novel are lifted bodily from Evelyn, Hobbes, Aubrey, Ward, Burton, and other writers of the period of the Rebellion.

Forsythe, R. S. *The Passionate Shepherd, and English Poetry*. PMLA., XL, 692-742.

Traces the influence of Marlowe's poem, especially in "the invitation to love" theme.

Gaselee, Stephen (ed.). *Nicholas Monardes, Joyful Newes out of the new found world. Translated by John Frampton (1677)*. With an Introduction by Stephen Gaselee. Tudor Translations, Second Series. Two vols. London: Constable, 1925. Pp. xxxvi, 177; 188.

Rev. in LTS., Aug. 20, 1925, p. 541.

Gawthorp, Walter E. *St. Mildred's Court Burial Ground*. N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 230.

Burial place of Thomas Tusser, author of *Five Hundred Good Pointes of Husbandrie*.

Goitein, H (ed.). *The Utopia. By Sir Thomas More. Translated By Ralph Robinson. The New Atlantis, 1622. By Francis, Lord Bacon*. The whole Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by H. Goitein. Illustrated by S. Langford Jones. Broadway Translations. London: Routledge, 1925.

Gollancz, Sir Israel. *Ben Jonson's Ode to "The Phoenix and the Turtle."* LTS., Oct. 8, 1925, p. 655; see also letter by Percy Simpson, LTS., Oct. 15, 1925, p. 675.

Prints a hitherto unknown prelude to *The Phoenix and the Turtle* from the Salusbury manuscript in the National Library of Wales, together with *An Elegie meant upon the Death of Ben: Jonson* by Sir Thomas Salusbury, also previously unknown.

Goodspeed, Edgar J. *The Making of the English New Testament.* University of Chicago Press; Cambridge University Press, 1925. Pp. ix, 129.

Rev. in LTS., July 2, 1925, p. 446; for other reviews see Book Review Digest, 1925.

Gosse, Sir Edmund. *Silhouettes.* London: Heinemann; New York: Scribner, 1925. Pp. 413.

Rev. LTS., Oct. 8, 1925, p. 653; in *Saturday Review*, cxi, 350; by Robert Jordan in *Nation & Ath.*, xxxviii, 20-21; in *Mercure de France*, clxxxiii, 545-548. For additional reviews see Book Review Digest, 1925.

Contains brief essays on *Lyly* and his "Euphuism," *Camoens*, and a few other Renaissance subjects.

Greg, W. W. *A Collier Mystification.* RES., i, 452-454.

Exposes an attempt on Collier's part to make Dyce responsible for Collier's own dishonesty in the matter of two manuscript poems in Edgerton 2623. To one of these, headed "The Hermit's speech," Collier apparently added "Finis G. P." and subsequently tore away his own forgery.

Grierson, H. J. C. *The Background of English Literature and other Collected Essays and Addresses.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1925. Pp. vii, 290.

Notice in LTS., Dec. 10, 1925, p. 865.

Contains criticism of the metaphysical poets.

Guppy, Henry. *William Tindale and the Earlier Translators of the Bible.* Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. ix, No. 2, July 1925, pp. 542-584.

Hammond, Eleanor Prescott (ed.). *The Chance of the Dice.* Eng. Stud., LIX, 1-16.

A poem in crude rhyme royal edited from MS Bodl. Fairfax 16, foll. 148 ff. Miss Hammond associates it with *Ragman Roll* in the same manuscript, both being also in Bodl. 638 (included in Wright's *Anecdota Literaria* and Hazlitt's *Early Popular Poetry*). The poem

here printed exchanges the mediaeval interest in fortune for the modern interest in the individual and is likened by the editor to *Colyn Bloubole's Testament*, the *Hye Way to the Spittal Hous*, and to Skelton.

Hannah, Robert. *Francis Bacon, the Political Orator*. In *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans* (New York: The Century Co., 1925. Pp. 299), 91-132.

A careful and interesting essay developing the idea that Bacon's greatness in political oratory was also the exemplification of carefully formulated rhetorical theory.

Harris, J. Rendel. *New Appreciations of George Fox*. Swarthmore, Pa.: The Swarthmore Press, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., July 9, 1925, p. 457.

Harrison, G. B (ed.). *Anthony Munday. English Romaine Life*. Bodley Head Quartos. London: Lane, 1925. Pp. xxi, 106.

Rev. in LTS., Mar. 19, 1925, p. 193; by R. B. McKerrow in RES., I, 376; in Nation and Ath., xxxvi, 719.

Harrison, G. B (ed.). *John Marston. The Scourge of Villanie*. Bodley Head Quartos. London: Lane, 1925. Pp. xiii, 126.

Rev. in LTS., Aug. 27, 1925, p. 555.

Harrison, G. B (ed.). *Samuel Daniel. A Defence of Ryme (1603) and Thomas Campion. Observations in the Art of English Poesie (1602)*. Bodley Head Quartos. London: Lane, 1925. Pp. vii, 46; 44.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 10, 1925, p. 573.

Harrison, G. B (ed.). *Thomas Nashe. Pierce Penilesse: His Supplication to the Divell*. Bodley Head Quartos. London: Lane, 1925. Pp. xii, 138.

Rev. in LTS., Mar. 19, 1925, p. 193; by R. B. McKerrow in RES., I, 376; in Nation and Ath., xxxvi, 719.

Harrison, T. P., Jr. *Googe's "Eglogs" and Montemayor's Diana*. University of Texas Bulletin. Studies in English, 5 (University of Texas Press, 1925. Pp. 209), 68-78.

Hartmann, Cyril Hughes. *The Cavalier Spirit, and its Influence on the Life and Work of Richard Lovelace, 1618-1658*. London: Routledge, 1925.

- Havilland, M. de. *Two Unpublished Manuscripts of John Donne*. London Mercury, XIII, 159-162.
A letter to Donne's father-in-law, Sir George More, dated June 22, 1629. It is about the payment of £100 which Donne had lent him. The other manuscript is a little group of pious meditations.
- Hayes, Gerald R. *Anthony Munday's Romance of Chivalry*. Library, vi, 57-81.
- Hebel, J. William. "A Divine Love" addressed by Lord Herbert to Lady Bedford? MLR., xx, 74-76.
- Hebel, J. William (ed.). *Michael Drayton. Endimion and Phoebe: Ideas Latmus*. Oxford: Blackwell; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925.
Rev. in LTS., Nov. 26, 1925, p. 793.
- Helm, Ida E. *Coleridge and Cartwright*. LTS., July 30, 1925, p. 509.
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Judson, Alexander C. *Who Was Lucasta?* MP., xxiii, 77-82.

Argues quite rightly that no great weight can be given to Anthony & Wood's suggestion of Lucy Sacheverel or to other vague traditions; but hardly so well, one would think, when he wishes us to believe that Lovelace had no particular woman, or women, in mind when he wrote the *Lucasta* poems.

Kittredge, George Lyman. *Sir Thomas Malory*. Barnstable: privately printed, 1925. Pp. 12.

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- Powicke, Frederick J. *Richard Baxter and the Countess of Balcarres.* (1621?-1706?). *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 585-589.
- Praz, Mario. *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra: John Donne-Richard Crashaw.* Firenze: La Voce, 1925. Pp. xii, 294.
 Rev. in *LTS.*, Dec. 17, 1925, p. 878.
 A volume discussing varieties of euphuism. (B)
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 The Italian poets whose influence is here traced are Achillini, Antonio Abati, Girolamo Casone, "Fra. (Francesco?) Gorgia" unknown, Guarini, Marino, Piccolimini, Girolamo Preti, Torquato Tasso, and Petrarch. It is noted that Stanley's "Come my dear whilst youth conspires" was translated from Girolamo Casone, not Guido Casoni, as thought Saintsbury and Miss Scott in her *Elizabethan Translations.* (B)
- Pruvost, R. *Greene's Gwydonius.* *LTS.*, Aug. 6, 1925, p. 521; see letter by W. Roberts, *LTS.*, Aug. 20, 1925, p. 545.
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Rollins, Hyder E. *Cavalier and Puritan*. New York University Press, 1923. Pp. xvi, 532.

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As far as Italian influences are concerned the various statements here made are of little value. The author accepts uncritically both Professor Wilkins's somewhat dubious conclusions as to the origin of the sonnet, and Tomlinson's utterly false generalizations and inaccurate particularizations as to Italian sonnet form. (B)

Scott, Janet G. *A Latin Version of a Sonnet of Constable's*. MLR., xx, 462.

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Skelton, John. *Poems*. London: Heinemann, 1924. Pp. xvi, 208.

Rev. in LTS., Jan. 1, 1925, p. 6.

Smith, G. C. Moore. *Charles Best*. RES., I, 454-456.

Smith, G. C. Moore. *"An Epithalamium to Mr. F. H."* LTS., June 11, 1925, p. 400.

Information relative to the poet Randolph.

Smith, G. C. Moore. *Some Unpublished Poems of Thomas Randolph*. Palaestra, 148.

Sparke, Archibald. *Henry Bull*. N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 214.

Sparrow, John (ed.). *The Poems of Bishop Henry King*. The Nonesuch Press, 1925. Pp. xxx, 197.

Rev. in LTS., July 9, 1925, p. 461.

Spens, Janet. *Chapman's Ethical Thought*. In *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*. Vol. XI, pp. 145-169.

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Spurgeon, Caroline E. E. *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*. Three vols. Cambridge University Press, 1925. Pp. cxliv, 504; 288, 152; and 109, 153, 87.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 5, 1925, p. 735; by George Saintsbury in *Nation and Ath.*, xxxviii, 218.

Squire, J. C (ed.). *Michael Drayton.. Nimphidia: the Court of Fayrie. Newly printed from the Folio of 1627*. Shakespeare Head Quartos. Oxford: Blackwell, 1925. Pp. 38.

Rev. in LTS., Mar. 5, 1925, p. 152.

Squire, W. Barclay. *Evelyn and Music (1645)*. LTS., May 14, 1925, p. 333; and Dec. 10, 1925, p. 857.

See also letter by Thomas Ashby, LTS., May 28, 1925, p. 368.

Stainer, Charles L. *Jonson and Drummond: Their Conversations. A Few Remarks on an 18th Century Forgery*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1925. Pp. 80.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 12, 1925, p. 754.

The Author seeks to prove the *Conversations* a forgery by the eighteenth century antiquary Sibbald. The reviewer thought the idea preposterous, as this reviewer does. Mr. Stainer wrote defending his position in LTS., Nov. 19, 1925, p. 772. See reply by W. W. Greg, LTS., Dec. 10, 1925, p. 862, to Mr. Stainer's contention that the *Conversations* are not genuine.

Stenberg, Theodore T. *Wordsworth's Happy Warrior and Herbert's Constancy*. MLN., XL, 252-253.

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Suckling, Sir John. *A Ballade Upon a Wedding. A Discourse between two Countrymen.* Shaftsbury, Dorset: J. E. Masters, 1925.

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Rev. in LTS., July 9, 1925, p. 459.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Thomas Middleton's Early Non-Dramatic Work.* N & Q., Vol. 148, pp. 435-438.

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A republication.

T.-D., G. *George Chapman.* RES., I, 350.

An inscription in Chapman's hand in a copy of the *Batrachomyomachia* addressed to Ralph Sadler, father-in-law of Sir Edward Coke. The copy is in the Inner Temple Library.

Tawney, Jeannette (ed.). *Chapters from a Christian Directory or a Summ of Practical Theology and Cases of Conscience.* By Richard Baxter. Selected by Jeannette Tawney. With a Preface by the Right Rev. Charles Gore, D.D. London: Bell, 1925.

Notice in LTS., Apr. 23, 1925, p. 287; rev. by K. N. Bell in Library, x, 263-265.

Tawney, R. H. (ed.). *A Discourse upon Usury by Thomas Wilson.* Edited with an Historical Introduction. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Apr. 16, 1925, p. 261; by H. J. Laski in New Republic, XLII, 105; by S. B. Liljegren in Beiblatt, XXXVI, 326-328; in Nation and Ath., XXXV, 753; by J. L. Cardoza in English Studies, VI, 147-149. For other reviews see Book Review Digest, 1925, under Wilson, Thomas.

Thomas, J. M. Lloyd (ed.). *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter: Being the Reliquiae Baxterianae. Abridged from the Folio (1696).* With Introduction, Appendices, and Notes. London: Dent, 1925. Pp. xxxvii, 312.

Notice in LTS., Dec. 17, 1925, p. 887.

Tindale's Bible. Leading Article in LTS., June 4, 1925, pp. 373-374.

Vann, William Henry. *Notes on the Writings of James Howells*. Belton, Texas: Baylor College, 1924. Pp. 71.

Rev. in LTS., Jan. 22, 1925, p. 60.

Verity, G. B. "*You meaner beauties of the night.*" LTS., Feb. 26, 1925, p. 138.

Calls attention to a correspondence between Sir Henry Wotton's poem and an epigram by Meleager.

Wainewright, John B. *George Thomson*, N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 118; also Edward Bensley, pp. 155-156.

Author of *Vindex Veritatis*, 1612.

Walton, Isaak, and Cotton, Charles. *The Complete Angler: Or The Contemplative Man's Recreation*. Edited by John Major. London: Navarre Society, 1925.

Walton, Isaac, and Cotton, Charles. *The Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation*. With Illustrations by James Thorpe. London: T. N. Foulis, 1925.

Ward, B. M. *The Authorship of the Arte of English Poesie; A Suggestion*. RES., I, 284-308.

Suggests with supporting evidence that John, Lord Lumley, and not Richard Puttenham, was the author.

Whibley, Leonard (ed.). *The Famous Hystory of Herodotus. Translated into English by B. R. Anno 1584*. Introduction by Leonard Whibley. Tudor Translations. London: Constable, 1925. Pp. xxxiii, 242.

Rev. in LTS., Feb. 12, 1925, p. 101.

Whipple, T. K. *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson*. University of California Press, 1925. Pp. 141.

Rev. by E. N. S. Thompson in PQ., iv, 384; in Lit. Zentr.-bl., LXXVI (June 15, 1925), 950-951.

White, Newport B. *Keats and Drayton*. LTS., Apr. 2, 1925, p. 240.

See also letter from B. H. Newdigate, LTS., Apr. 12, 1925, p. 253.

White, Newport B. *Richard Brathwaite*. LTS., June 4, 1925, p. 384.

Wilson, F. P. (ed.). *Thomas Dekker. The Foure Birds of Noah's Arke.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1924. Pp. xv, 285.

Rev. in LTS., Mar. 19, 1925, p. 193; see also letter by John Drinkwater, LTS., Mar. 26, 1925, p. 223; rev. by R. B. McKerrow in RES., I, 375-376; by John Freeman in London Mercury, XII, 545-546.

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V. SPENSER.

Arsbok, 1924. Year-book of the New Society of Letters at Lund. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 17, 1925, p. 600.

Contains Denis Saurat's article, *Les idées philosophiques de Spenser.*

Bauer, R. *Die Iren . . . in der Darstellung von Edmund Spenser.* Diss., Halle (1924?). Pp. 240.

Blanchard, Harold H. *Imitations from Tasso in the Faerie Queene.* SP., XXII, 198-221.

Blanchard, Harold H. *Spenser and Boiardo.* PMLA., XI, 828-851.

A series of fifteen parallels, similar to those in the article on *Imitations from Tasso in the Faerie Queene* above. These articles are valuable because each probably exhausts its subject. (B)

Covington, Frank F., Jr. *A Note on Faerie Queene IV, iii. 27.* MLN., XL, 253.

Covington, Frank F., Jr. *Spenser and Alexander Neckam.* SP., XXII, 222-225.

Covington, Frank F., Jr. *Spenser's Use of Irish History in the Veue of the Present State of Ireland.* University of Texas Bulletin Studies in English, 4 (University of Texas Press, 1924), pp. 5-38.

Davis, Bernard E. C. *The Text of Spenser's "Complaints."* MLR., XX, 18-24.

Drinkwater, John (ed.). *Essays by Divers Hands. Being the*

Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom. New Series. Vol. v. Oxford University Press, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 3, 1925, p. 567; by William Rowntree in Edin. Rev., 242, 404-405.

Contains an essay by Sir Henry Newbolt on the influence of the Sicilian pastoral on Spenser and other poets; also an essay by Granville Barker dealing among other things with the translation of Shakespeare into French.

Hughes, Merritt Y. *Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances.* MP., xxiii, 67-76.

Discusses incidentally influences from Guarini and other Italians, but rather curiously makes no suggestion of possible influence of Italian translations of the Greek Romances. (B)

Parker, Roscoe E. *Spenser's Language and the Pastoral Tradition.* Language, I, 3 (Sept. 1925).

Peck, Walter Edwin. *The Poet's Poet.* LTS., Jan. 1, 1925, p. 9.

Renwick, W. L. *Edmund Spenser: An Essay on Renaissance Poetry.* London: Arnold, 1925. Pp. vii, 198.

Rev. in LTS., Apr. 30, 1925, p. 296; by Richard Aldington in Nation and Ath., xxxvii, 107; D. S. Mirsky in London Mercury, xii, 547-549.

Spenser, Edmund. *The Sonnets and Poems of Edmund Spenser.* The Pilgrim's Books. London: Philip Allan, 1925.

VI. MILTON.

Andersen, Johannes C. *Bentley and Milton.* LTS., Aug. 27, 1925, p. 557.

An unpublished letter from Bentley's nephew.

Bailey, Margaret Lewis. *Milton and Jacob Boehme.* Germanic Literature and Culture, edited by Julius Goebel, No. 1. Oxford University Press, Amer. Br., 1914.

Belated rev. by Bernhard Fehr, Beiblatt, xxxvi, 7-8; and by Wolfgang Heller, pp. 172-178.

Baldwin, Edward Chauncey. "And on the Left Hand Hell." (Paradise Lost, x, 322). MLN., xl, 251.

Baldwin, Edward Chauncey. *Paradise Lost and the Apocalypse of Moses.* JEGP., xxiv, 383-386.

Barrett, James A. S. *Ambiguities in "Paradise Lost."* LTS., Oct. 8, 1925, p. 656.

Bradley, L. J. H. *Keats and Milton.* LTS., Oct. 22, 1925, p. 698.
See also letter by W. E. Doubleday, LTS., Nov. 5, 1925, p. 739.

Candy, Hugh C. H. *Some newly discovered Stanzas written by John Milton.* London: Nisbet, 1925.

Rev. by Denis Saurat in Rev. Ang. Am., III, 148-150.

Collins, John H. *Milton and the Incomprehensible.* So. Atl. Quar., XXIV, 373-384.

Milnre inferiority due to a failure, except in a few passages, to see life whole as well as steadily.

Crawford, S. J. *Milton and Aldhelm.* LTS., Sept. 24, 1925, p. 619.

Cites a parallel between the *Reason of Church Government* and Aldhelm's poem *De Virginitate*.

Damon, S. Foster. *Three Generations of One Line.* MLN., XL, p. 441.

Paradise Lost, VI, 350.

Draper, John W. *Milton's Ormus.* MLR., XX, 323-327.

Ferrando, G. *Milton in Toscana.* Illustrazione Italiana, Oct. 1925.

See also an anonymous article on *Milton a Firenze* in Marzocco, Nov. 9, 1925, which closely follows Ferrando's article. (B)

Figgis, Darrell. *Milton's Spelling.* LTS., June 25, 1925, p. 432.

See also letters by H. J. C. Grierson and The Nonesuch Press, LTS., July 9, 1925, p. 464.

Grierson, H. J. C. (ed.). *The Poems of John Milton. English, Latin, Greek and Italian, arranged in Chronological Order, with a Preface by H. J. C. Grierson.* Vol. I. The Shorter Poems, *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. Vol. II. *Paradise Lost*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1925. Pp. xlii, 375, and lxiv, 371.

Rev. in LTS., May 21, 1925, pp. 341-342; see also letter by H. J. C. Grierson, LTS., June 4, 1925, p. 384; rev. (Vol. II), LTS., Nov. 19, 1925, p. 769; by Richard Aldington in Nation and Ath., XXXVII, 297 (Vol. I only).

Grierson, H. J. C. *The Text of Milton.* LTS., Jan. 15, 1925, p. 40.

Would read "in glorious themes" i. e., strains, instead of "on
11

glorious themes" in sonnet "On the Religious Memory of Mrs. Catherine Thomason."

Hanford, James Holly. *Samson Agonistes and Milton in his Old Age*. In *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*. By Members of the Department of English of the University of Michigan (New York: Macmillan, 1925. Pp. 232), 167-189.

The general scheme of this paper is interesting. The writer takes up Milton's three great works as the fulfillment of Milton's plan, discoverable as early as *The Reason of Church Government* in 1641. Milton then shows that his mind was centered on expression in the forms of the extended epic, the brief epic, and the drama of Euripides and Sophocles. It follows that one cannot take too seriously the testimony of Ellwood, according to which it would be necessary to regard *Paradise Regained* as an afterthought. It turns out that the three poems are philosophically interdependent and form a complete whole.

Hanford, James Holly. *The Youth of Milton. An Interpretation of his Early Development*. In *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*. By Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan, as above, 89-163.

The author devotes his attention to the illumination of that period of Milton's career which comes before the Horton period, the Horton period having absorbed the attention of most critics to the neglect of what lies before it. Not only does he succeed in suggesting for us a youthful Milton, studious, eager, and hesitant, but succeeds also in the further task of illuminating the Horton period.

Havens, Raymond Dexter. *Dryden's Visit to Milton*. RES., I, 348-349.

Havens, Raymond Dexter. *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*. Harvard University Press, 1922.

Rev. by Louis I. Bredvold in MLN., 105-108; by Bernhard Fehr, Beiblatt, xxxvi, 1-7. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 320.

Herford, C. H. *Dante and Milton*. New York: Longmans, 1925. Pp. 47.

Hughes, Merritt Y. *Lydian Airs*. MLN., XL, 129-137.

A study of Milton's attitude to the Platonic tradition of the effect of music upon character, as also that of Spenser and other authors of the Renaissance.

Johnson, Samuel. *Johnson's Prologue to Comus, 1750*. *Repro-*

duced in type-facsimile. Oxford University Press, 1925. Pp. 16.

Notice in LTS., Aug. 6, 1925, p. 523; in N & Q., Vol. 149, p. 306.

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Notice in JEGP., xxiv, 460. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 321.

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Notice in LTS., Aug. 6, 1925, p. 522; rev. by S. B. Liljegren in Beiblatt, xxxvi, 337-338; notice in Lit. Zentr.-bl., Lxxvi (Oct. 31, 1925), 1745.

Memorabilia. N & Q., Vol. 149, p. 163.

A memorial to Milton at Vallombrosa.

Milton, John. *Paradise Regained. Decorated by Thomas Lowinsky.* London: The Fleuron, 1925.

Rev. in SP., xxii, 551.

Milton. Leading Article in LTS., May 21, 1925, pp. 241-242.

Review of *Milton's Poems, 1645, Paradise Regained*, Saurat, Grierson; see also letter by Johannes C. Andersen, LTS., Aug. 27, 1925, p. 557.

Milton's Poems, 1645. Oxford University Press, 1924.

Rev. in N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 126. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 322.

Mutschmann, Heinrich. *The Secret of John Milton.* Dorpat (Tartu): Author, 1925.

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Mutschmann, Heinrich. *Studies concerning the Origin of Paradise Lost.* Dorpat (Tartu), 1924. Pp. 72.

Rev. by S. B. Liljegren in Beiblatt, xxxvi, 274-275. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 322.

Nairn, J. A. *Milton's Latin Poetry.* Fortnightly Review, cxxxiii, 501-513.

Selections from Milton's Latin poems with Cowper's translations (a few by the author) and a commentary. The author concludes that Milton was a scholar of the first rank.

Nicolson, Marjorie. *The Spirit World of Milton and More.* SP., xxii, 433-452.

Osgood, Charles G. *Lycidas* 130, 131. RES., I, 339-341.

Pitman, James Hall. *Milton and the Physiologus*. MLN., XL, 439-440.

Sampson, George. *Macaulay and Milton*. Edin. Rev., CXXLII, 165-178.

Rev. of Smart, Visiak, and Saurat (*q. v.*) and a defense of Macaulay's famous essay on Milton, the centenary of the publication of which was August, 1925. He contends that Macaulay's essay has both breadth and effective knowledge.

Saurat, Denis. *Milton: Man and Thinker*. London: Jonathan Cape; New York: Dial Press, 1925. Pp. xvii, 363.

Rev. by Robert Mors Lovett in *New Republic*, XL, 346-347; by George Saintsbury in *Nation and Ath.*, XXXVII, 178; by J. H. Hanford in *N. Y. Tribune*, May 17, 1925, p. 3; by S. B. Liljegen in *Beiblatt*, XXXVI, 274-276; by George Sampson, *Edin. Rev.*, CXXLII, 165-178; by D. S. Mirsky in *London Mercury*, XII, 547-549. For other reviews see *Book Review Digest*, 1925. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 451.

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Smart, John S (ed.). *The Sonnets of Milton*. With an Introduction and Notes. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1921. Pp. x, 195.

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Sorani, A. *Milton a Vallombrosa*. Marzocco, Sept. 6, 1925; Sat. Rev. of Lit., II, 318.

Spira, Thomas. *Die Aufgabe der Miltonforschung*. Palaestra, 148.

Studley, Marian H. *Milton and his Paraphrases of the Psalms*. PQ., IV, 364-372.

Thaler, Alwin. *The Shakespearian Element in Milton*. PMLA., XL, 645-691.

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Visiak, E. H. *Milton Agonistes. A Metaphysical Criticism.* London: A. M. Philpot, 1924.

Rev. by George Sampson in *Edin. Rev.*, CCXLII, 165-178.

Williams, Stanley T. *Landor's Criticisms in Poetry.* MLN., XL, 413-418.

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VII. HISTORY, MANNERS, AND CRITICISM.

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Notice by G. D. in *History*, x, 184. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 322.

Ady, Cecilia M. *Italian Influences on English History During the Period of the Renaissance.* *History*, ix, 288-301.

See also letter by J. W. Horrocks with note by Miss Ady, *History*, x, pp. 44-45.

Aldrich, S. J. *Anno Santo.* N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 26.

An account from *Cronica von allen Kaisern und Königen* (printed by Johann Bämle at Augsburg in 1476) of a visit to Rome in 1450.

Ambler, S. O. *The Story of Southwark.* With a Foreword by T. P. Stevens. London: Sampson Low, 1925. Pp. v, 88.

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Andrew, W. J. *Queen Elizabeth's Mint.* N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 190.

Askew, H. *Dean Whittingham and John Calvin.* N & Q., Vol. 149, pp. 351-352.

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Beller, E. A. *The Negotiations of Sir Stephen Le Sieur, 1584-1613*. EHR., XL, 22-33.

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Bensly, Edward. *William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke (d. 1570)*. N & Q., Vol. 148, p. 229; Walter E. Gawthorpe, p. 250.

Beresford, John. *The Godfather of Downing Street. (Sir George Downing, 1623-1684.)* London: R. Cobden-Sanderson, 1925. Pp. 318.

Rev. in LTS., June 18, 1925, p. 409. Notice in Edin. Rev., CXXLI, 206.

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Notice by F. P. S. in *EHR.*, xl, 307-308; by Jean Plattard in *R. du XVIe S.*, xii, 172-173.

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Block, Marc. *Les rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 19. Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1924. Pp. 540.

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This book has important bearings on such literary treatments of the royal power of healing by the touch as that of *Macbeth*, and also as regards the current conception in the Renaissance of the divine nature of kingship.

Blundell, Dom F. O. *Old Catholic Lancashire*. With foreword by M. E. Francis. London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1925. Pp. xvi, 192.

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Bollea, L. C. *Gli studenti ultramontani all' Università di Pavia, in Universitatis Ticinensis Saecularia undecima die XXI maii an. MCMXXV*. Pavia, 1925.

The notice of this festival in MP., **xxiii**, 235-237, presents in translation by Professor Kenneth McKenzie, a short article by Signior Bollea on British professors and students at Pavia in the fifteenth century. It makes suggestions for working out the detail of the subject of British students at Italian universities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Bondoio, Paul M. *Le Maréchal de Bassompierre*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1925.

Rev. in LTS., Aug. 20, 1925, p. 542.

Box, E. G. *A Very Rare Map of Kent*. LTS., July 23, 1925, p. 496.

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Offers certain biographical details.

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Büchi, Albert. *Korrespondenzen und Akten zur Geschichte des Kardinals Matthäus Schiner*. Vol. I. Zurich: Seldwyla, 1923. Pp. xxiv, 396.

Notice by C. B. in EHR., **xl**, 149-150.

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Rev. in LTS., Nov. 5, 1925, pp. 725-726, suggesting Renaissance aspects; see section VIII under Gilson.

Byrne, Muriel St. Clare (ed.). *The Elizabethan Home. Discovered in Two Dialogues*. London: Etchells and Macdonald, 1925. Pp. xiv, 95.

Rev. in LTS., June 25, 1925, p. 429.

Compilation of extracts from manuals of conversation, mainly published in the sixteenth century, by two Huguenot refugees, Claudius Hollyband (Sainsliens) and Peter Erondell; listed also in section IV.

Camp, Charles W. *The Artisan in English Literature*. Columbia University Press, 1924. Pp. 170.

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Campanella, T. *Del senso delle cose e della magia*. A cura di A. Bruers. Bari: Laterza, 1925.

Of interest in connection with the history of witchcraft. (B)

Caplan, Harry. *A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching*. In *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans* (New York: The Century Co., 1925. Pp. 299), 61-90.

The author presents a translation of a Latin tractate found in the library of Cornell University in a quarto volume of incunabula; there is no place or date of publication. The writer thinks it belongs to the late fifteenth century. The title, of which only a translation is given, states that it is compiled from divers writings of holy men and chiefly from a short treatise of Thomas Aquinas. From the introductory matter supplied by the translator it is extremely difficult to make out the exact nature of the work translated, but it is nevertheless interesting to have the document made available in so spirited a translation.

Capponi, Ferrante. *Piero Capponi*. LTS., Mar. 19, 1925, p. 200; see also letter by H. Guy Harrison, LTS., Aug. 13, 1925,

- p. 533; J. B. Whitmore in *N & Q.*, Vol. 149, p. 106; John B. Wainewright, pp. 158-159.
- Carlisle Grammar School. Memorial Register, 1264-1924.* Compiled and edited by G. B. Routledge. With a Preface by Sir Robert A. Allison. Carlisle: Charles Thurnam, 1925.
- Cartellieri, Otto. *Ein Zweikampf in Valenciennes im Jahre 1455.* In *Festschrift Johannes Hoops*, 169-176. Heidelberg: Winter, 1925. Pp. vii, 270.
- Chancellor, E. Beresford. *The Pleasure Haunts of London: During Four Centuries.* London: Constable, 1925.
- Clark, Donald Lemen. *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance.* Columbia University Press, 1923. Pp. x, 160.
- Rev. by Walter F. Schirmer in *Eng. Stud.*, LIX, 434-436. See this Bibliography, 1924, p. 453.
- Coach and Sedan, 1636.* The Haselwood Books. London: Etchells and Macdonald, 1925.
- Rev. by John Freeman in *London Mercury*, XII, 545-546.
- Coate, Mary. *Social Life in Stuart England.* London: Methuen, 1924.
- Notice by E. R. A. in *EHR.*, XL, 150-151. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 325.
- Coit, Charles Wheeler. *The Royal Martyr.* London: Selwyn and Blount, 1925.
- Notice in *LTS.*, Feb. 26, 1925, p. 141; in *Nation and Ath.*, XXXVI, 782-784.
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- Coleridge, The Hon. Stephen. *On Queen Elizabeth.* English Review, Oct. 1925, pp. 539-543.
- A summary of the perfidies of Elizabeth.
- Collett, Henry. *Little Gidding: And its Founder. An Account of the Religious Community Established by Nicholas Ferrar in the Seventeenth Century.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1925. Pp. 63.
- Notice in *LTS.*, July 9, 1925, p. 467.
- Collison-Morley, L. *Seventeenth Century Englishmen in Italy.* Edin. Rev., CCXLII, 179-189.
- Has an interesting body of references to books of travel.

Columbus, Christopher. *The Journal of his First Voyage to America*. London: Jarrolds, 1925. Pp. viii, 251.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 10, 1925, p. 843; in *Nation and Ath.*, xxxviii, 192.

Conway, G. R. G. *A Scotsman in America in 1535*. N & Q., Vol. 148, pp. 293-294.

This refers to the history of a Scotchman, Thomas Blake, mentioned by Robert Tomson in his description of Mexico (Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, Vol. ix).

Cotton, Charles. *The Gray Friars of Canterbury, 1224-1538*. British Society of Franciscan Studies. Manchester University Press, 1924.

Notice by F. M. P. in EHR., xl, 167. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 325.

Craster, H. H. E. *The Red Book of Durham*. EHR., xl, 504-532.

Cunningham, B. Howard. *Some Annals of the Borough of Devises. Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Devises. 1555 to 1791*. Devises: Simpson, 1925. Pp. xx, 247.

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Rev. by E. F. Jacob, RES., I, 111-114.

Carries many subjects over into the sixteenth century.

Delaunay, Dr. *L'aventureuse existence de Pierre Belon, du Mans.* R du XVIe S., XII, 78-97, 256-282. (À suivre.)

See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 336.

Demaus, Robert. *William Tindale. A Biography. Being a Contribution to the Early History of the English Bible.* Popular edition, revised by Richard Lovett. London. R. T. S., 1925.

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Durrant, C. S. *A Link between Flemish Mystics and English Martyrs.* With a Preface by His Eminence Cardinal Bourne. London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1925. Pp. xvi, 456.

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Ensor, R. C. K. *Columbus. A Historical Poem.* London: Martin Secker, 1925. Pp. 80.

Rev. in LTS., June 18, 1925, p. 412.

Evans, Austin P. *An Episode in the Struggle for Religious Freedom.* Columbus University Press, 1924, Pp. 235.

Notice by R. H. M. in EHR., XL, 463; rev. by F. S. B. in Cath. Hist. Rev., v, 322-323; see Book Review Digest, 1925. See this Bibliography, 1925, p. 325.

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Rev. in LTS., May 28, 1925, p. 363; by Wouter Hutschenruyter in English Studies, VII, 184-185.

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Rev. in LTS., Apr. 16, 1925, p. 260.

Fletcher, J. S. *The Reformation in Northern England*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1925. Pp. 192.

Rev. in LTS., Aug. 20, 1925, p. 540; by W. M. in Dublin Rev., CLXXVII, 315-320.

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Notice in LTS., June 25, 1925, p. 434; rev. by R. B. McKerrow in RES., I, 498.

Fordham, Sir Herbert George. *John Ogilby (1600-1676) His Britannia, and the British Itineraries of the Eighteenth Century*. Library, VI, 157-178.

Fordham, Montague, and Fordham, T. R. *The English Agricultural Laborer, 1800-1925*. London: Labour Publishing Company, 1925. Pp. 63.

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Froude, J. A. *Short Studies on Great Subjects*. First Series. The World's Classics. London: Milford, 1925.

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Fruin, Robert. *Tien Jaren nit de Tachtigjarigen Oorlog, 1588-1598*. Eighth ed. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1925.

Notice in History, X, 188.

Fryer, Alfred C. *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*. London: Eliot Stock, 1925. Pp. 112.

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Gaselee, Stephen. *Casuistry*. Edin. Rev., CXLII, 116-125.

A brief discussion of the nature and operation of casuistry, "the process by which particular cases are brought under special rules." There are references to Robert Sanderson's *De Obligatione Conscientiae* (1647), Jeremy Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium* (1660), and other works.

Gasquet, Cardinal. *The Mission of St. Augustine and Other Addresses*. London: Bell, 1925.

Rev. in *Contemp. Rev.*, cxxvii, 132-134.

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Grönvold, Fr. *Slaegts-Kröniker, 1500-1800*. Oslo: Jacob Dybwads Forlag, 1925.

Rev. in *LTS.*, July 16, 1925, p. 478.

Gotch, Alfred. *Old English Houses*. New York: Dutton, 1925. Goes into the subject of Tudor architecture.

Gunther, R. T. *Early Science in Oxford*. Vol. III and IV. The Philosophical Society. Oxford: Printed for the subscribers, 1925. Pp. xii, 564, viii, 259.

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Hall-Patch, W. *St. Philip: Tutor and Saint*. With a Preface by Father Ross. London: Sands, 1925. Pp. xi, 201.

Notice in *LTS.*, June 25, 1925, p. 435.

This is admittedly in large part a work of fiction.

Hamilton, Lord Ernest. *Tales of the Troubles*. London: Fisher Unwin, 1925. Pp. vii, 352.

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VIII. CONTINENTAL INFLUENCES.

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BROWNING'S SOURCE FOR *THE PIED PIPER OF HAMELIN*

BY ARTHUR DICKSON

Furnivall's *Bibliography of Robert Browning*, of which the "Forewords" are dated July 31 and October 1, 1881, tells us on page 113 that the story of *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* "is taken from one of the famous *Familiar Letters* of James Howell," and the letter is printed. In the *Additions*, however, dated December 31, 1881, this statement is much modified. Furnivall there prints (page 158), as "the earliest English authority," the account of the story given in Richard Verstegen's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* (Antwerp, 1605), and adds:

Verstegan, then, is nearer Browning's story than Howel, tho the poet had never seen V. before his poem was written. He got the story from North Wanley's *Wonders of the Little World* (fol. 1678) and the authorities there cited. In the new edition of Wanley, 1774, the tale is told shortly at p. 632, col. 2, and the authorities quoted, are *Wier. de præstig. Daemon. li. 1, c. 16, p. 47: Schot. phys. curios. li. 3, c. 24, p. 519: Howel's Ep. vol. 1, § 6, epist. 59, p. 241.*

It is fairly clear that the earlier statement, that about Howel, was a guess on Furnivall's part; that he subsequently came upon Verstegen's account, and was struck by its similarity to Browning's poem; that he then applied to Browning for information; and that the result is embodied in the second note. In other words, Furnivall's statement that Browning "had never seen V. before his poem was written," and that he got the story from Wanley's *Wonders* "and the authorities there cited," must rest upon the authority of the poet himself. Furnivall passes the information on, but prints Verstegen, and remarks that the latter is "nearer Browning's

story than Howel"—Howell, one of these very "authorities." We cannot help asking, Are Wanley and his other authorities—"Wier." and "Schot."—any closer to Browning than is Howell? Or, was Verstegen really Browning's source, in spite of what is evidently a statement by Browning himself to the contrary? I cannot find that any answer has been attempted to these questions.

The passage from Verstegen begins on page 85 of the 1605, 1628, and 1634 editions, and is the same in all three, except for differences in spelling; it is reprinted in full in Furnivall's *Bibliography*, and, with the omission of the concluding paragraph about Transylvania, in Chambers' *Book of Days* under July 22, and in Cooke's *Guide-Book*, page 293. It is here reprinted from the first English edition (London, 1628):

And now hath one digression drawne on another, for being by reason of speaking of these Saxons of *Transilvania*, put in mind of a most true and maruelous strange accident that hapned in *Saxonie* not manie ages past, I cannot omit for the strangenesse thereof briefly here by the way to set it downe. There came into the towne of *Hamel* in the countrie of *Brunswicke* an old kind of companion, who for the fantastickall coate which he wore being wrought with sundrie colours, was called the pide Piper; for a Piper he was, besides his other qualities. This fellow forsooth offered the townse-men for a certaine somme of money to rid the towne of all the rats that were in it (for at that time the Burgers were with that vermine greatly annoyed) The accord in fine being made; the pide Piper with a shrill pipe went piping through the streets, and forthwith the rats came all running out of the houses in great numbers after him; all which hee led into the riuer of *Weaser* and therein drowned them. This done, and no one rat more perceiued to bee left in the towne; he afterward came to demand his reward according to his bargaine, but being told that the bargain was not made with him in good earnest, to wit, with an opinion that euer he could bee able to doe such a feat: they cared not what they accorded vnto, when they imagined it could neuer bee deserved, and so neuer to be demanded: but neuerthelesse seeing he had done such an vnlikely thing indeed, they were content to giue him a good reward; and so offered him farre lesse then he lookt for: but hee therewith discontented, said he would haue his full recompence according to his bargain, but they vtterly denying to giue it him, he threatened them with reuenge; they bade him doe his worst, whereupon he betakes him againe to his pipe, and going through the streets as before, was followed of a number of boyes out at one of the gates of the Citie, and comming to a little hill, there opened in the side thereof a wid hole, into the which himselfe & all the children being in number one hundreth and thirtie, did enter; and being entred, the hill closed vp againe, and became as before. A boy that being

lame and came somewhat lagging behind the rest, seeing this that hapned, returned presently backe and told what he had seene, foorthwith began great lamentation among the Parents for their children, and men were sent out withall diligence, both by land and by water to inquire if ought could be heard of them, but with all the enquirie they could possibly vse, nothing more then is a foresaid could of them be vnderstood. In memorie whereof it was then ordained, that from thence-foorth no Drumme, Pipe or other instrument, should be sounded in the street leading to the gate through which they passed; nor no Osterie to be there holden. And it was also established, that from that time forward in all publike writings that should bee made in that towne, after the date therein set downe of the yeare of our Lord, the date of the yeare of the going foorth of their children should bee added, the which they haue accordingly euer since continued. And this great wonder hapned on the 22. day of Iuly in the yeare of our Lord, 1376.

The occasion now why this matter came vnto my remembrance in speaking of *Transilvania*, was, for that some do report that there are diuers found among the Saxons in *Transilvania* that haue like surnames vnto diuers of the Burgers of *Hamel*, and will therby seeme to inferre, that this Iugler or pide Piper, might by negromancy haue transported them thither, but this carrieth litle appearance of truth; because it would haue beene almost as great a wonder vnto the Saxon of *Transilvania* to haue had so many strange children brought among them, they knew not how, as it was to those of *Hamel* to lose them: and they could not but haue kept memorie of so strange a thing, if indeed any such thing had there hapned.

Certain parts of Browning's story are evidently *not* in Ver-stegen; and others, which are, are not important for our purpose. I would ask the reader to note, however, that the following things are common to the two accounts:

1. The date of the occurrence—July 22, 1376.
2. The invitation to the piper, at the climax of the controversy, to "do his worst" ("You threaten us, fellow? Do your worst, Blow your pipe there till you burst!").
3. The statement that there was a little boy who was lame and couldn't keep up with the rest.
4. The statement that no tavern was allowed in the street.
5. Concluding remarks about the possibility of the children's having been carried off into Transylvania.

Now Howell's account, which is contained in a letter of October 1, 1643 (*Epistolae Ho-Elia-nae*, 5th ed., 1678, p. 272; reprinted in Furnivall, p. 113, and in Cooke's *Guide-Book*, p. 292), lacks all five of these points, nor has it any other special similarity to the

poem, except in one detail: the name of the town, which in Verstegen is Hamel, but in Howell, Hamelen. It is interesting to note that Browning's father, in the poem he wrote on the subject (of which the opening lines are given by Griffin and Minchin, *Life*, page 21), calls the town Hammelin. For this detail, then, and this detail alone, Browning seems to have been indebted to Howell, either directly or through his father.

Turning now to Nathaniel¹ Wanley's *Wonders of the Little World* (London, 1678, bk. 6, ch. 19, ¶ 28; in the editions of 1774 and 1806, bk. 6, ch. 26, ¶ 23; reprinted in Cooke's *Guide-Book*, page 291), we note two points of agreement with Browning which are lacking in Verstegen and Howell. Wanley says that the children "perished" at "a hill called Koppen" ("Koppelberg hill," B.), and that the story is "kept by them in their annals . . . and painted in their windows and churches" ("On the great church-window painted," B.). On the other hand, Wanley, like Howell, lacks all of the five points in which Browning agrees with Verstegen.

What, now, as to "Wier." and "Schot."?

The treatise of Dr. Johann Wier, *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, went through several editions in the sixteenth century, of which I have been able to consult five. The first edition (Basileae, 1564) seems to have no mention of the Pied Piper. The third (Basileae, 1566) has a short notice in book 1, chapter 13. But since Wanley refers to "li. 1 c. 16," his source must be a still later edition, like that which bears the imprint Basileae 1583, and which contains the following account in the sixteenth chapter of the first book:

Tibicen quidam Hammelae Brunswicorum ad eliciendos glires conductus, sequenti rependit facinore ingratitude, cum illi ex pacto non satisfaceret. Anno siquidem millesimo ducentesimo octuagesimo quarto, die vicesimosexto Iunii, hunc tibicinem Omnicolorem nuncupatum ob vestis varietatem, centum et triginta pueri per plateam inde nomen, ut audies, sortitam, non procul extra civitatem usque ad Calvariae locum sub Koppen nuncupatum, ad viam communem Boream versus situm, sequuti periere, nec unquam postea apparuere. Haec ita in annalibus conscripta, Hammelae in archivis religiose custodiuntur: leguntur et in libris templi sacris, atque in eiusdem vitris picta conspiciuntur: cuius rei oculatus equidem testis sum. Vetus-

¹ Not "North," as Furnivall writes, perhaps from a misreading of Browning's handwriting.

tior praeterea Magistratus in historiae huius confirmationem suis codicillis publicis inscribere solet coniunctim, Anno Christi, etc. et exitus puerorum anno, etc. Observatur vero in hunc usque diem ad perpetuam rei gestae memoriam, quod tympani sonitus nunquam in eadem admittatur platea, per quam egressi pueri, si forte isthinc aliqua educitur sponsa, donec ex illa exierit: nec etiam choreae in eadem ducuntur. Hinc et nomen consequuta est platea, Burgelosestrass. Mane post septimam horam contigiase hoc fertur, et fuisse in puerorum numero consulis filiam iam plenis nubilem annis, quae simul evanuit. Puer vero quidam nonnihil sequutus, necdum vestitus, volens suas adferre vestes, rediit domum: interea autem evanuerunt omnes in exigua fovea colliculi, quae mihi ostensa est. En diabolus tibi cinem sanguinarium.

The German version of Wier's book published at Frankfort in 1586 gives the same account (page 43), with one or two additional details which are of no consequence to us; and even closer is the French translation of 1579, as reprinted in the *Bibliothèque Diabolique* (J. Wier, *Histoires, disputes et discours etc.*, Paris, 1885, liv. 1, ch. 16; vol. 1, p. 84).

It may be noted that Wier has what looks like an earlier version of Verstegen's story of the lame boy; here, a boy who returned home to finish dressing! But there is nothing else in his account that calls for remark. We look in vain to Wier (at any rate, in these five editions) for any of the five points of agreement between Verstegen and Browning, or any other characteristic detail lacking in Verstegen, except those already noted in Wanley.

Now for the *Physica Curiosa* of G. Schott (Herbipoli, 1622, page 519). It tells a good story, even if not Browning's:

De pueris Hammelensibus seductis a Mago.—Inter Mirabilia hominum merito numerari potest exitus atque seductio puerorum Hammeliae, quod oppidum est inferioris Saxoniae ad Visurgim fluvium situm. Historiam narrant quam plurimi Auctores. . . . Cum dicti oppidi indigenae eo anno [1284, the usual date] ingentibus murium agminibus infestarentur, malumque in tantum cresceret, ut nihil fere sive fructuum, sive segetum, quod eorum rosionibus non esset obnoxium, reperiretur; vir quidam invisus ante hac, et staturae prodigiosae comparuit; qui quicquid murium eo in oppido, eiusque districtu esset, confestim sublaturum se, dummodo de certa pecuniae summa secum paciscerentur, pollicitus est. Nec segnius quam promisit, effecit. Nam promissa mercede, dictus vir ex pera, qua cinctus erat, fistulam (utriculus is erat) extraxit: et simul atque eam inflavit, ingentia murium agmina ex omnibus domorum angulis ac foraminibus prorupere, et aulaedum^a illum praeuntem extra oppidum ad flumen usque sunt

^a *auledus*, tibicen.—Du Cange.

secuta. Ibi aulaedum succincta veste flumen ingredientem sorices secuti, una omnes spontanea submersione perierunt. Hoc peracto, vir ille conditam mercedem exposcit. Verum cum cives de pecunia promissa solvenda tergiversarentur, minacibus illos verbis increpuit, asseruitque, nisi mercedem darent, futurum, ut aliam exigeret mercedem multo promissa graviorem. Minae cum risu acceptae sunt. Vertente igitur anno, die 26. Junii, circa meridiem denuo vir dictus comparuit habitu venatoris, vultu terribili, purpureo inusitatae compositionis pileo; fistulamque aliam longe a priori diversam simul ac insonuit; ecce pueri ac puellae numero 130. derepente confluant, et ludionem extra oppidum tripudiantes sequuntur. Est extra oppidum mons, seu potius collis, quem Calvariae montem (Köpf-felberg dicunt incolae loci illius) vocant, et in monte caverna sat ampla, iumentorum stabulationi apta. In hanc cavernam una secum omnes pueros duxit venator. Atque ab eo tempore nullus unquam puerorum comparuit amplius, nec unquam rescitum deinde, quid de iis factum, aut quo abierint. Unica puella, quae infantem brachiis gestabat, et praeuntes assequi non poterat, rem a longe aspexit, et regressa oppidanos monuit; qui agminatim omnes egressi, per loca omnia, et omnes angulos, liberos, sed frustra, quaesiverunt.

Historiam hanc omnes Hammelenses, traditione a majoribus accepta, veram esse testantur. Eandem exhibet pictura minuta in fenestra quadam Parochialis Ecclesiae oppidi. . . . Plurima alia in eodem oppido, et extra illud, extant vestigia. . . . Addunt multi, oppidanos, ab illo tempore, quo res tam insolens et funesta contigit, annos suos in instrumentis publicis computare solitos ab anno Exitus puerorum suorum."

There are some minor agreements here with Browning's version. The piper is "staturae prodigiosae" ("he himself was tall and thin"?); the piper's words ("futurum, ut aliam exigeret mercedem multo promissa graviorem") are certainly closer to Browning's "folks who put me in a passion May find me pipe after another fashion," than is Verstegen's simple statement "He threatened them with reuenge"; the children follow "tripudiantes" ("Tripping and skipping"); and Köpf-felberg is more like Koppelberg than is Wanley's "hill called Koppen." It is possible, then—I think, hardly more—that Browning used Schott. But we still lack all of the five points of agreement with Verstegen, including the date.

But another question now presents itself. Did the poet perhaps use some source which has not yet entered the discussion? In search of an answer, I have examined the following accounts, comprising, not all those which Browning might possibly have consulted, but all those easily available here, and, I think, a sufficient number for the purpose:

A. Fretaghius, a letter dated 1580, quoted in Schott: *Magia Universalis* (Herbipoli, 1657), p. 201.

J. Pomarius: *Chronica der Sachsen und Nidersachsen* (Wittenberg, 1588), p. 419.

An anonymous rhyming chronicle of the end of the sixteenth century, quoted in Dörries: *Der Rattenfänger von Hameln* (in *Zsch. des hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, Jahrg. 1880), p. 171.

J. Lampadius: *Mellificii Historici Pars 3* (Marpurgi, 1617), p. 365.

P. Camerarius: *Operae Horarum Subcisivarum* (Francofurti, 1620), p. 48.

R. Burton: *Anatomy of Melancholy*, part 1, sec. 2, mem. 1, subs. 2; 5th ed. (London, 1638), p. 52.

A. Kircher: *Musurgia Universalis* (Romae, 1650), vol. 2, p. 232.

H. More: *An Antidote against Atheism* (2nd ed., London, 1655), p. 184.

G. Schott: *Magia Universalis* (Herbipoli, 1657), p. 199.

P. Heylyn: *Cosmographie* (5th ed., London, 1677), pp. 1: 401, 2: 168.

H. Meibom: *Rerum Germanicarum Tomi III* (Helmaestadii, 1688), vol. 3, p. 80.

J. Addison: *Spectator*, no. 5 (March 6, 1711; *Works*, London, 1804, vol. 1, p. 19).

M. H. Bünting and J. Letzner: *Braunschweig-Lüneburgische Chronica* (Braunschweig, 1722), vol. 1, p. 521.

J. and W. Grimm: *Deutsche Sagen* (3rd ed., Berlin, 1891), no. 245.

P. Mérimée: *Chronique du temps de Charles IX* (first published 1829; Bruxelles, 1835, p. 39).^a

The results of my comparison, to refer again to our five points, are these:

1. The date July 22, 1376, is given only by Pomarius and Heylyn; 1376, by Lampadius, in a short notice (An. 1376. Pueri Hamelensis egressi scribuntur, ad Calendas Graecas redituri).

2. "Do your worst," and 3. the lame boy, are everywhere lacking.

^a In order to be perfectly frank with the reader, I shall give here the list of references which I have not consulted:

A. Hondorff: *Promptuarium Exemplorum* (Leipzig, 1568).

P. Albinus: *Meissnische Land und Berg-Chronica* (Dresden, 1589-90), p. cxii.

J. Becherer: *Neue Thüringische Chronica* (Mülhausen, 1601), p. 366.

L. Lossius: *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 264.

S. Erich: *Der hamelschen Kinder Ausgang* (Hanover, 1655).

N. Nieremberger: *Historia Hamelensis* (Wittenbergae, 1671).

J. Seyfried: *Medulla mirabilium naturae* (Sultzbach, 1679), p. 476.

Kirchmayer: *Vom unglücklichen Ausgang etc.* (Dresden, 1702).

J. Hübner: *Geographie* (Hamburg, 1736), vol. 3, p. 611.

4. The statement that no tavern was allowed in the street is in Pomarius only.

5. Concluding remarks about Transylvania are in Fretaghius, Kircher, Mérimée, and elsewhere; but not in Pomarius.

Thus none of these other versions agrees with Verstegen in more than two of his characteristic details. Pomarius, who agrees in points 1 and 4, is evidently one of Verstegen's sources; Verstegen quotes him on the preceding page (84) and takes from him four of his cuts of the "Saxon gods" (Pomarius, pp. 28, 43, 45, 49; Verstegen, pp. 78, 74, 70, 69). For the parallel we may compare, e. g.:

Als bald hat dieser ebentewrer ein helles Pfeifflein geblasen / da seind die Ratzen aus allen gassen und heusern hauffen weise herfür gelauffen / und haben sich zusammen gethan / welche er denn in die Weser gefüheret vnd erseuffet hat (Pomarius).

The pide Piper with a shrill pipe went piping through the streets, and forthwith the rats came all running out of the houses in great numbers after him; all which hee led into the riuier of Weaser and therein drowned them (Verstegen).

But Pomarius passes rapidly over the scene of the quarrel, which Verstegen amplifies, using here some version like that of Schott, from which also he takes the information about Transylvania. Heylyn, who is the only other writer on our list who gives the full 1376 date, admittedly takes his short account from Verstegen. The upshot of all this is, that Browning either (1) repeated, after Verstegen and with very similar results, the process of combining Pomarius with another account, and happened to invent the lame bcy, and to write, "Do your worst"; or (2) used some account not on our list, which embodied Verstegen's five characteristic details; or (3) used Verstegen.

The second of these possibilities is suggested by Griffin and Minchin, who give (*Life*, pp. 20-21) as the sources of the poem Wanley, Howell, and the oral communication of the poet's father. We know that the latter was interested in the story, and wrote a poem on the subject, as pointed out by Griffin and Minchin (page 21). It is possible, then, that Browning's father gave him an oral, or a written, account of the story, containing the details characteristic of Verstegen's account, which Browning then incorporated in his poem. The evidence, at any rate, is convincing that he knew Verstegen, either in this indirect maner, or directly.

In either case, how are we to account for his statement to Furnivall? Very simply; the poet was mistaken in his recollection of the circumstances. Between the publication of the poem in 1842, and the statement to Furnivall in 1881, a period of time had passed which may well excuse such a lapse of recollection. Readers, moreover, will easily call to mind other instances of Browning's apparent lack of interest in his past work, and of his inaccuracy in referring to his procedure in composing it; see, e. g., Cook's *Commentary upon "The Ring and the Book,"* pages 292 and 319.

One other matter calls for remark; for, of the versions of the story contained in my list, only one more has points of resemblance to Browning worth noting. This is, as we should expect, the version of Mérimée,⁴ who alone tells the story for purely literary—not historical or scientific—purposes. He has these points of similarity:

1. The piper is described in part as "un grand homme, basané, sec" ("tall and thin, With . . . swarthy skin"); the only hints of his personal appearance elsewhere in our list are vague statements like Schott's "staturae prodigiosae."

2. One rat survives the general exodus—being too old to walk; but the "magician" sends another rat to get him, and both jump into the Weser, the messenger pulling the old rat by the tail. Browning's surviving rat was probably suggested rather by Verstegen's lame boy; but Mérimée too may have given a hint.

3. When the piper asks for his reward, the citizens call to mind "qu'ils n'avaient plus rien à craindre des rats" ("We saw with our eyes the vermin sink, And what's dead can't come to life, I think").

4. A pair of specific sums is mentioned; the citizens promise a hundred ducats, and offer ten ("A thousand guilders! Come, take fifty!").

5. Mérimée makes a good deal of the Saxons in Transylvania; but his account here is not noticeably closer to Browning's than is Verstegen's.

Points 3 and 4, while they do not appear in any other version I have read, are of course such embellishments of the narrative as

⁴ The occurrence of the story in Mérimée is noted in Furnivall's *Bibliography*, p. 113, n. 3.

might well occur independently to two men who were retelling the story for literary purposes. But point 1 is more clearly a reminiscence; and all the resemblances taken together make it seem likely, I think, that Browning had read the story in Mérimée.

Our conclusions are that, in all probability, Browning's chief source was Verstegen, whom he knew either directly, or through a detailed retelling by his father. The form of the name Hamelin is the only detail that can be traced to Howell. The church-window, and perhaps the name Koppelberg, are from Wanley. Schott was perhaps used for certain details; Wier was not; and there was probably in the poet's mind a recollection of some details in Mérimée, who had preceded him in the literary treatment of the story. It is of course possible, too, that some or all of the hints from Howell, Wanley, Schott and Mérimée, as well as the more important details from Verstegen, were embodied in an account given the poet by his father. In any case, his statements to Furnivall, forty years later, were due to a mistaken recollection of the circumstances.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, I have been able to consult O. Meinardus, *Der historische Kern der Hameler Rattenfängersage* (*Zschr. des hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, Jahrg. 1882, pages 256 ff.), and S. P. Thompson, *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* (Sette of Odd Volumes, *Opuscula*, No. LIII, London, 1905). The material gathered by these two writers throws no new light on the specific question here discussed. Their articles, however, contain interesting extracts from some of the older accounts, including the following, which should be added to the bibliography:

J. Fincelius: *Wunderzeichen* (Jhena, 1556), p. G. iv. verso.

J. Letzner: *Corbeische Chronica* (Hamburg, 1590), notes to chapter 20.

G. Rollenhagen: *Froschmeuseler* (Magdeburgk, 1600, and frequently reprinted), Buch III, Theil I, Kap. XIII.

M. Sachs: *Kaiserchronik* (1605).

M. Schoock: *Fabula Hamelensis* (Groningae, 1659).

C. F. Fein: *Die entlarvte Fabel vom Ausgange der hämelschen Kinder* (Hannover, 1749).

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GABRIEL HARVEY'S REFERENCES TO MARLOWE

BY HALE MOORE

The obscurity incident to most of the writings of Gabriel Harvey reaches its superlative in the last of his published works, *A New Letter of Notable Contents*,¹ dated 16 September, 1593. Among the most difficult parts are those which contain certain allusions to Christopher Marlowe and his death some three months before. Harvey's remarks are cast in verse through a group of four poems coming at the end of the prose text. Students of Marlowe and Harvey have generally made no attempt to dig out more than the gist of what the author has here so thoroughly bemuffled. G. C. Moore Smith,² Hans Berli,³ and Tucker Brooke⁴ seem to acquiesce with Dr. McKerrow's, "I can only say that it [the group of poems] was doubtless intended to have some meaning, but that I have in vain attempted to discover what this may be."⁵ Bullen had, however, ventured a partial explanation in the introduction to his edition of Marlowe,⁶ one which Grosart in editing the *Works of Harvey* accepted and quoted in full.⁷ Fleay⁸ has left us some rather original suggestions to help explain difficult allusions here and there; I shall refer to them later. More recently Professor Hubbard has seen "Possible Evidence for the Date of Tamburlaine"⁹ in the same mysterious poems. An examination of the

¹ *Works of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. Grosart, Huth Library, 1884, I, 292. (Cited hereafter as *G. H.*)

² *The Marginalia of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. Moore Smith, Stratford-on-Avon, 1913. (Cited hereafter as *Marg.*)

³ *Gabriel Harvey Der Dichterfreund und Kritiker*, Zurich, 1913.

⁴ *Works of Marlowe*, ed. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1910, p. 2; also "The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe" in *Transactions of the Conn. Acad.*, XXV, June, 1922, 397-408.

⁵ *Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, v, 102. (Cited hereafter as *T. N.*)

⁶ *Works of Marlowe*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 1884-5, I, lxxv.

⁷ *G. H.*, III, xlii-xvi.

⁸ *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, Lon., 1891, II, 64-5.

⁹ *PMLA*, XXXIII, 436-43. I cannot think Mr. Hubbard correct in assuming that "McKerrow seems to have overlooked Bullen's interpretation of the poems," since the former's words more likely imply that he can suggest nothing better. Every reader of his *Nashe* must perceive how thoroughly he knew Grosart's work, in which, as stated above, Bullen's remarks are quoted in full.

Harvey-Marlowe relations as a whole has led me to reject Mr. Hubbard's thesis and to attempt a more complete solution of the puzzles involved.

Gabriel Harvey, fourteen years the senior¹⁰ of Christopher Marlowe, matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, 28 June, 1566, became B. A. 1569-70, and M. A. 1573.¹¹ He held various University offices and fellowships 1573-79, but was checked in his attempt to secure the position of Public Orator in April of 1580. During the next three or four years he was in residence, off and on, studying civil law and hoping for advancement at court. Marlowe had matriculated at Corpus Christi sometime in the Lent term of 1580-81, and he continued a member of the University until taking his M. A. in July, 1587. Although there exists no external evidence that the two men knew each other at this period, there is some basis for speculation. In the Bursar's accounts for the years 1580-84¹² are entered memoranda of the sums paid by the College to Marlowe each quarter on his scholarship. As the amounts varied according to his presence or absence from the University, it is possible to fix certain times at which he and Harvey were both in residence. During the entire summer of 1583 both men were present at the University. Harvey, now a man of thirty-three, was temporarily the Junior Proctor of the University; and it is just possible that the undergraduate may have come under the eye of the older man in some way that might help to explain later enmities. We have some reasons to believe that Nashe¹³ and Marlowe were acquaintances as early as their student years at Cambridge, but they hardly seem strong enough to urge the view that Marlowe and Harvey knew of each other at the time through Nashe—Nashe states that he himself knew Harvey then:

"When I was in Cambridge and but a childe, I was indifferently perswaded of thee: mee thought by thy apparell and thy gate, thou shouldst have beene a fine fellow."¹⁴

¹⁰⁻¹¹ For these and other references to the academic careers of Harvey, Marlowe, and Nashe consult *Marg.* and the volumes of the *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. Venn, Cambridge, 1922-

¹² "Marlowe at Cambridge," G. C. Moore Smith, *MLR*, iv, 167-77.

¹³ Came up during 1581-82; matriculated sizar from St. John's 1582; B. A., 1585-86.

¹⁴ *T. N.*, I, 269.

In point of fact Harvey was a well known University character of whom they would not be in complete ignorance. He had been made the butt of *Pedantius*,¹⁵ a college play produced in February, 1580-81; the publication of his correspondence with Spenser had caused so much talk and annoyance at Cambridge¹⁶ that he was obliged to

"interpretate my intention in more expresse termes: and thereupon discoursed eurie particularitie, by way of Articles or Positions, in a large Apology of my duetiful, and entier affection to that flourishing Vniuersitie, my deere Mother";¹⁷

and he had been defeated under rather humiliating circumstances for both the Public Oratorship and the Mastership of Trinity Hall. But, however likely it may be that Marlowe knew of Harvey and his brothers in these years, it would seem very doubtful that the older graduate, preoccupied in a complexity of ambitious projects, took any particular notice of young Kit, any, that is, which might color his later opinions. No, I think we may be sure, it was the later relations of Marlowe with Nashe which led Harvey to think and write of them together, as we shall see presently that he does. That Nashe and Marlowe were friends after leaving school is beyond doubt. McKerrow has shown that Nashe did not attack Marlowe in his criticism prefaced to Grene's *Menaphon*.¹⁸ Through his other writings¹⁹ Nashe always speaks of Marlowe as his friend; he even quotes the latter's familiar jest on Richard Harvey.²⁰ After Marlowe's death Nashe saw *Dido* through the press if he did not actually collaborate at some time with its composition.²¹

After Marlowe left Cambridge for London in the summer of 1587 it is impossible to be sure in any detail of his relations with Harvey. The record of the dramatist's personal affairs during these years is of the scantiest kind. We have: 1. A memorandum in the

¹⁵ Ed. G. C. Moore Smith, Bang's *Materialien*, VIII.

¹⁶ Cf. *Marg.*, pp. 31-4. See also the letter printed on p. 45.

¹⁷ *G. H.*, *Four Letters*, I, 180; or in the "Bodley Head Quartos" edition of 1922, p. 31.

¹⁸ *T. N.*, IV, 445-6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 180; III, 131, 132, 195, 198.

²⁰ "An asse, good for nothing but to preach of the Iron Age." Cf. *infra*, p. 343.

²¹ On Nashe's part in *Dido*, see: *T. N.*, IV, 294-5, and Tucker Brooke's *Marlowe*, pp. 388-9.

Middlesex Session Roll, XXXI Elizabeth, October, 1588, that two men went bond for his appearance in court (charges not stated). 2. A warrant issued by the Privy Council for his arrest, May 18, 1593. 3. The note in the records of the Privy Council that Marlowe had appeared May 20th and had been commanded to attend their Lordships until licensed to the contrary.²² 4. Thomas Kyd's letter to Sir John Puckering which accuses Marlowe of atheism.²³ 5. The documents bearing on the circumstances of his death recently published by Dr. Hotson.²⁴ Certainly there is little enough to build on here, and when it is added that there is not one direct reference to Harvey in Marlowe's works, the difficulties of our attempt can be clearly seen. Yet we are entirely safe in believing that Marlowe spent the greatest part of the six years 1587-93 in and about London. Indeed the amount of the dramatic work which he accomplished, his friendships with Chapman, Kyd, Shakespeare, Nashe, and Greene, the brief legal documentation, and finally his connection with the Walsingham family, all confirm that supposition. Since we know too that he fell into some disfavor with the Cambridge authorities about the time of his departure,²⁵ it is unlikely that he should have revisited the University and run upon Harvey at any time before 1591-2, when the latter's fellowship at Trinity expired. We have left the time from August 1592, when Harvey came up to London, until May 30, 1593, the date of Marlowe's death, in which to look for some quarrel or other explanation to serve as our background in interpreting the *Gorgon* poems.

Harvey's purpose in coming to London was to attend to legal affairs in connection with the estate of his brother John, who had died in July.²⁶ He was detained in the city until about July 20th of the following year, living all this time, according to Nashe, at the house of his printer, Wolfe, in St. Paul's Churchyard. The months were not spent in idleness. On the 12th of October he

²² All reprinted by J. H. Ingram, *Christopher Marlowe and his Associates*, pp. 198-9.

²³ Works of Thomas Kyd, ed. F. S. Boas, Oxford 1901, pp. cviii-cx.

²⁴ J. L. Hotson, *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*, 1925. And cf. *passim* for data on note 22.

²⁵ Privy Council Registers, Elizabeth, vi, 381 b. Public Rec. Off.

²⁶ Cf. *Marg.*, pp. 60-5.

secured by chancery order the administration of his brother's goods during the minority of the daughters. Between September and December he composed and published *Four Letters*, a reply to Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*. With Nashe's rejoinder, *Strange Newes of the Intercepting of Certaine Letters*, January, 1592-3, he set about the composition of *Pierces Supererogation*—a welter of words and opinions in which he strangely inserted his reply to Lyly's *Paphlatchet*, written four years earlier.²⁷ The body of the work bears the date "27. of Aprill: 1593"; a preliminary letter to his friends, "at London this 16 of July"; and a note at the end from John Thorius is subscribed, "Oxford, the 3 of August, 1593." Dr. McKerrow has shown clearly that the volume did not come from the press until about the middle of October.²⁸ Despite these facts, there is no reason to think that Harvey altered the text after April 27th to insert the remarks on Marlowe as Ingram would imply.²⁹ Accepting the following, then, as true reflections of Harvey's opinion of Marlowe while still alive, we may look more particularly for the basis of his dislike.

"His [Nashe's] gayest floorishes, are but Gascoignes weedes, or Tarletons trickes, or Greenes crankes, or Marlowes brauado's: his iestes, but the dregges of comon scurrilitie, the shreds of the theater, or the of-scouring of new Pamflets."³⁰

(Nashe) "that shamefully, and odiously misuseth euery friend, or acquaintance, as he hath serued some of his fauorablest Patrons (whom for certain respectes I am not to name), M. Apis Lapis, Greene, Marlow, Chettle, and whom not?"³¹

"no Religion, but precise Marlowisme."³²

Little is to be gathered from the first quotation beyond a vague deprecation of Marlowe's writing for its conceited boldness. In the second we have some evidence that Harvey thought of Marlowe as one of his enemy's friends, but apparently not such a one as might be leagued with Nashe against himself in a way which would justify Bullen's epitome of the *Gorgon* sonnet: "'Marlowe is dead; it remains to muzzle Nashe.'"³³ The third quotation, as I believe,

²⁷ This occupies pp. 124-221 in *G. H.*, II. It is dated November 5, 1589.

²⁸ *T. N.*, v, 95-103.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 234.

³⁰ *G. H.*, II, 115.

³³ Bullen's *Marlowe*, I, lxvii.

exhibits the real nature of Harvey's attitude, one familiar enough to Marlowe students—abhorrence of the atheist. Let us see how the references in Harvey's next book bear this out. *A New Letter of Notable Contents*, cast in the form of a long letter to his printer, Wolfe, was written from Saffron Walden and dated September 18, 1593. First the prose passages:

"Though Greene were a Iulian, and Marlow a Lucian: yet I would be loth, He [Nashe] should be an Aretin."²⁴

"*Plinyes*, and *Lucians* religion may ruffle, and scoffe awhile: but extreme *Vanitie* is the best beginning of that brauery, and extreme *Miserie* the best end of that felicity. *Greene*, and *Marlow* might admonish other to aduise themselves:"²⁵

To give the full context in each case would require several pages; it may be sufficient to summarize the argument preceding the first quotation as a homiletic plea for Nashe to forsake the ways of "desperate blasphemies" and repent at the feet of Christ. Although he has just spoken in praise of the heathen philosophers, Harvey uses the names Julian and Lucian here as synonyms for pagan and scoffer. The second passage is preceded by a long harangue on the blasphemy of Nashe and other "surmounting spirites" who are finally named as Marlowe and Greene. Thus we have three instances in which Marlowe is used to point a moral on behalf of religion. At this juncture one should take care not to be misled by talk of Harvey's supposed puritanism; Professor Tolman has very effectively disposed of the myth,²⁶ and furthermore no controversial intention is to be found in the present context. It is rather as an earnest pleader for good morals and dignified letters that Harvey reproaches Nashe by citing the examples of such (to him) unquestionably irreligious "rakehells" as Greene and Marlowe. Doubtless he was unaware of the slight irony in coupling Marlowe with the man who had alluded to him in the well known tag as "daring God out of Heaven with that Aetheist Tamburlan."

Of course, Harvey is voicing what was believed in all quarters and repeated with holy joy by such persons as Beard, Meres,

²⁴ *G. H.*, I, 289.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 292.

²⁶ "The Relation of Spenser and Harvey to Puritanism," *Modern Philology*, xv, 549-64, January, 1918.

Vaughan, and Rudierde.⁸⁷ Yet I think there is to be found in his case a particular reason for crediting Marlowe with atheism when we remember that the rector of Scadbury, where the Walsingham family, Marlowe's patrons, lived, had since 1587 been none other than Gabriel's brother Richard. This worthy must certainly have known Marlowe, and, whatever the facts, probably thought him an enemy of religion and a blasphemer. In all probability the dislike was mutual, for on the authority of Nashe⁸⁸ Marlowe spoke of Dick Harvey as "an asse, good for nothing but to preach of the Iron Age." Whether that saying be apocryphal or not, is it too much to suppose that the brothers came to share a common opinion of Christopher Marlowe's spiritual health?

In the light of careful analyses by McKerrow and Moore Smith the old picture of an implacable ghoulis Harvey, slanderer of the living, vile calumniator of the dead, has become ridiculous. Grosart, Ingram, and too many others by losing their tempers in round execration of this "pedant" (a tiresome epithet which it seems no one has failed to apply) to whom the glory of genius and the finest dramatic art mean nothing, have quite lost their grasp of the essential problem. We are not concerned at this point with the aesthetic limitations of our man but with the dominant idea back of all his references to Marlowe. We have constructed what appears to be a reasonable hypothesis as to the nature of that idea; it remains to test it by a detailed analysis of the difficult verses mentioned at the beginning of our undertaking.

SONET.

Gorgon, or the Wonderfull yeare.

- I St. Fame *dispos'd to cunnycatch the world,*
Vprear'd a wonderment of Eighty Eight:
The Earth, addreading to be ouerwhurld,
What now auailles, quoth She, my ballance weight?
The Circle smyl'd to see the Center feare:
The wonder was, no wonder fell that yeare.
- Wonders enhaunse their powre in numbers odd:*
The fatall yeare of yeares is Ninety Three:
Parma hath kist; De-maine entreates the rodd:

⁸⁷ The charges made by these men are quoted and discussed by Tucker Brooke in the *Transactions of the Conn. Acad.* as cited above; and cf. Dr. Hotson's book *passim*.

⁸⁸ *T. N.*, III, 85.

*Warre wondreth, Peace and Spaine in Fraunce to see.
Braue Eckenberg, the dowty Bassa shames:
The Christian Neptune Turkish Vulcane tames.*

*Nauarre wooes Roome: Charlmaine giues Guise the Phy:
Weepe Powles, thy Tamberlaine voutsafes to dye.*

L'enuoy.

*The hugest miracle remaines behinde,
The second Shakerley Rush-swash to binde.*

II A / Stanza declaratiue: to the Louers of Admirable Workes.

*Pleased it hath a Gentlewoman rare,
With Phenix quill in diamont hand of Art,
To muzzle the redoubtable Bull-bare,
And play the galiard Championesses part.
Though miracles surcease, yet wonder see
The mightiest miracle of Ninety Three.*

Vis consilii expers, mole ruit sua.

III The Writer's Postscript: or a frendly *Caueat* to the *Second Shakerley* of Powles.

*Slumbring I lay in melancholy bed,
Before the dawning of the sanguin light:
When Eccho shrill, or some Familiar Spright,
Buzzed an Epitaph into my hed.*

*Magnifique Mindes, bred of Gargantuas race,
In grisly weedes His Obsequies waiment,
Whose Corps on Powles, whose mind triumph'd on Kent
Scorning to bate Sir Rodomont an ace.
I mus'd awhile: and hauing mus'd awhile,
Iesu, (quoth I) is that Gargantua minde
Conquerd, and left no Scanderbeg behinde?
Vowed he not to Powles A Second bile?
What bile or kube? (quoth that same early Spright)
Haue you forgot the Scanderbegging wight?*

IV

Glosse.

*Is it a Dreame? or is the Highest minde**
That euer haunted Powles, or hunted winde,
Bereaft of that same sky-surmounting breath,
That breath, that taught the Tempany to swell?*

**Reading of the original. Grosart in his reprint, following Collier, inserts an *it* in the second half of the line:

Is it a Dreame? or is it the Highest minde
which of course makes nonsense.

*He, and the Plague contended for the game:
 The hawty man extolles his hideous thoughtes,
 And gloriously insultes upon poore soules,
 That plague themselves: for faint harts plague themselves.
 The tyrant Sicknesse of base-minded slaues,
 Oh how it dominer's in Coward Lane?
 So Surquidry rang-out his larum bell,
 When he had girn'd at many a dolefull knell.*

*The graund Dissease disdain'd his toade Conceit,
 And smiling at his tamberlaine contempt,
 Sternely struck-home the peremptory stroke,
 He that nor feared God, nor dreaded Diu'll,
 Nor ought admired, but his wondrous selfe:
 Like Iunos gawdy Bird, that proudly stares
 On glittering fan of his triumphant taile:
 Or like the ugly Bugg that scorn'd to dy,
 And mountes of Glory rear'd in tousing wit:
 Alas: but Babell Pride must kisse the pitt.*

L'enuoy.

*Powles steeple, and a hugyer thing is downe:
 Beware the next Bull-beggar of the towne,
 Fata immatura vagantur.⁴⁰*

In discussing this material Bullen treats the first, third, and fourth poems; Mr. Hubbard, only the first and second. By omissions of this sort the unity of Harvey's idea is destroyed and the meaning misrepresented. The difficulties in style and language require detailed explanation such as none of the critics has seen fit to attempt. These preliminary remarks of Mr. Hubbard, however, are certainly correct:

"The 'hugest miracle' mentioned in the Envoy (i. e. the muzzling of Nashe) is to be worked by the 'Gentlewoman rare' of the *Stanza declarative*, where it becomes 'The mightiest miracle of Ninety three.' Comment upon the 'wonders' mentioned in the second part of the sonnet forms part of the 'notable contents' of the *New Letter*. The implication of the last line of the sonnet is that the death of Marlowe is the greatest wonder of Ninety Three. In the first line of the sonnet, 'St. Fame' is in imitation and in ridicule of the appellation in *The Epistle to the Reader* prefixed to *Strange News of the Intercepting of Certain Letters*, 1592."⁴¹

He does not attempt to explain the historical allusions in the second stanza of *Gorgon*; and ignores the other poems beyond remarking

⁴⁰ *G. H.*, I, 295-7.⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 438.

that such epithets as "Sir Rodomont," "Gargantua minde," "Scanderbeg," and the like accord with the use of "Tamburlaine" for Marlowe in Harvey's contemptuous ridicule. Perhaps a gloss of a "glosse" may seem a rather futile composition, but I submit the following as not entirely uncalled for on this occasion at least:

Wonderment of Eighty Eight: the Spanish Armada; Professor Hubbard rejects; it is the purpose of his article to prove that this refers to the first appearance of *Tamburlaine* upon the stage. Among the Harvey marginalia which have recently come to light, there is some invaluable testimony to his interest in the Armada. The Britwell Court copy of Richard Morysine's 1539 translation of the Latin *Strategematicon* of Frontinus,⁴² which is now in the Harvard Library, contains a multitude of Harvey's notes⁴³ on the military art in general, and, further, about a score of contemporary allusions entered apparently between 1586-1590.

"1588. *Reuolutio Meae Reformationis, Seu Annus Assuetudinis.*"
(Title page)

(On spreading false news of the enemy's condition) "On of Mendozas fresh practises: sed sine effectu. Ower Admiral slain, and Drake fledd: cuius Contrarium, Verum est."
(Niii r^o)

(On a counterfeit fray to entice the enemy to battle) "How easely might Sr Humfry Gilbert, or Captain Forbusher, or Captain Drake, haue gained sum lyke opportunity?" (H 8 v^o)

(On a trick by which the Carthaginians drew off the Roman fleet and gained their safe haven) "The Spanish Armada, this Sommer, 1588. cowld not espy any such advantage against Jngland or otherwise preuaile, ether by force, or Pollicy."
(Kiii r^o)

(On the use of fire ships) "Owr English pollicy against the Spanish Armada, this other day" (Nii r^o)

These quotations establish the fact that Harvey appreciated the significance of the Armada, and, what is vital to our argument, marked it in relation to its date.

But we have not yet exhausted this important body of marginalia, since the following appears on folio Gii r^o:

rowt

"If thêre be any Coniuring; woold not A troupe [sic] of Diuels, make ye brauist harts in ye world to quake, & to pisse for feare? If [Michael] Ismael Mursa, cowld command thunderbolts & tempests: or if Doctor

⁴² The *Strategemes*, *Sleyghtes*, and *policies* of warre, gathered togyther, by S. Julius Frontinus, and translated into Englyshe, by Rycharde Morysine. Anno. M.D. XXXIX.

⁴³ The writer intends to publish the more significant of these.

Faustus cowlde reare Castles, & arme Diuels at pleasure: what woonderful, & monstrous exploits, might be acheuid by such terrible meanes. Embushments, Camisados, & such pore shifts, but trifles, in comparison of ye cunning practices, & horrible Furies, that Diuels cowlde play."

Two questions are raised at once: Does Dr. Faustus refer to the character in Marlowe's play or to that in his source? When did Harvey write this? Let us consider this latter one first. The Ismael Mursa mentioned was a Persian shah (Ismail Mirza, 1480-1524), founder of the Sufi dynasty, celebrated for beating the Turks at Koi in 1514. The most probable source of this as well as two mentions of Ismael by Nashe is the Geoffrey Duckett narrative first published in 1589 by Hakluyt "in his *Voyages*. The passage runs:

"The Shaugh or king of Persia is nothing in strength & power comparable unto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turks: neither hath he any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebusses. Notwithstanding his eldest sonne Ismael about 25. yeeres past, fought a great battell with the Turke, and slew of his armie about an hundreth thousand men." 44

This source, then, fixes the earliest limit for the note as 1589. The *terminus ante quem* may be taken pretty certainly as 1590 or 1591 from the fact that all of the other dateable allusions fall within that limit. On folio Miiii r^o near the end of the book we find the latest of them:

"Constancy, and tru valour, ouerthrowes al pollicy, being in armes reddey to fight withowt delayes. Sir Roger Williams in his new Discourse of Warr. 40."

The *Discourse of Warre* (not entered S. R.) was published in 1590. It is apparent that Harvey read through the *Strategematioon* soon after he bought it in 1578, as he writes on the title page "*Precium xxd 1578*" in the earlier Gothic hand which he employed at the time. All of the later notes are in a handsome almost copy-book Italian style. He very naturally chose this book to reread at times through the exciting years of England's struggle with Spain; but there is no evidence at all that he added anything after a date when the *Discourse of Warre* might be spoken of as "new." To this argument for a later limit of 1590 we may add something from the fact that *Dooctor Faustus* was removed from the stage after its successful production by the act of the Lord Mayor on November 6, 1589, which silenced the company playing it. The play did not reappear until 1594 when Henslowe records a performance on September 30th, and to the present this entry has constituted the first direct reference to our drama.

44 That Harvey knew and admired Hakluyt is certain from two mentions of him in marginal notes. Cf. *Marg.*, pp. 122, 233.

45 Edition of 1903-05, III, 160.

Now as to whether Harvey was thinking of the Doctor Faustus of the 1587 Faust-Book or of the character in Marlowe's play. I should say that the natural probabilities all point to the latter. Harvey is not known to have had any acquaintance with German such as to enable him to read the original *Faustbuch* (first printed at Frankfurt in 1587). No legendary character bearing the name Doctor Faustus, so far as I am aware, appears in England prior to the translation of this German *Volksbuch*, which is generally agreed to have had its first edition in 1587. Among the books belonging to Harvey which have come down to us there is no work of the popular character of the *Faust-Book* and no reference in his common place book or published marginalia to anything of the sort. As Moore Smith remarks, his interests were "encyclopedic, tending always to the practical, to law, history, politics, natural philosophy rather than to pure literature."⁴⁶ Furthermore it is very unlikely that Harvey would have taken notice of so vulgar a work as the *Faust-Book* or so unheroic a person as Doctor Faustus therein appears. On the other hand, the Faustus of Marlowe's play fits exactly the mighty invoker of devils, peer of the Persian conqueror Ismael,⁴⁷ that Harvey has in mind in writing his note. He would certainly have heard of the play on the London stage, even though he did not see it in person. There are two mentions of the stage among the other marginalia in Frontinus which may show that Harvey had it in mind when writing of Faustus:

"What if now, sum terrible cumpany, thorowghly accomplished, shoold hideously rush owt upon there enemyes in good order, like Diuels upon A stage, or much more horribly? Sum on egregious exploit, might so be achieuid." (Fi 10)

"A tragical nuntio, ye unwelcummist man on ye stage" (Gv 10)
(Both are in the later Italian hand.)

I have gone into some detail on this point both because it is the purpose of this paper to consider all possible references to Marlowe, and because of the independent value of the earliest allusion to a great Elizabethan play. I think it must be clear, however, that though it be accepted as a genuine reference to the play, it still cannot be interpreted to affect the *Tamburlaine* problem or the "Wonderment of Eighty-Eight" in any way to strengthen Mr. Hubbard's contention.

Circle Center: The sun in its orbit the earth.

The allusions lines 9 to 13 inclusive are to events of the French Wars of Religion 1562-1593. Of course there is no mystery in the historical facts; we have only to make sure of the sense in which Harvey employs them, and for this we now have an abundance of evidence.

⁴⁶ *Marg.*, p. 53.

⁴⁷ For the same reasons I think it even less likely that Harvey had in mind the Doctor Faustus of the ballad licensed February 28, 1588/9, "A ballad of the life and deathe of Doctor Ffaustus the great cunngerer."

Parma hath kissed: Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, died of wounds December 3, 1592, after a last unsuccessful campaign against the French protestants.

De-Maine entreates the rodd: Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Mayenne, after the murder of his brother, the Duke of Guise in 1588, secured his own appointment as the head of a provisional government at Paris with the title of lieutenant general of the kingdom. In January 1593 he called a meeting of the States General to fix upon a sovereign. The debate finally ended in Navarre's favor, though Mayenne managed to have his title confirmed a second time.

A contemporary pamphlet⁴⁰ speaks of "the Duke of Mayn—perceiving—the death of the Duke of Guize had not onely not weakened [him], but contrariwise had miraculouslye strengthened [his] affaires, receyved this fauour of fortune so insolently—that afterwards [he] bent all endeuours at the full usurpation of the estate" (E1 v^o). Two pages later: "the Duke of Mayne, not so resolute as was requisite in so hardie an attempt, neither aduenterous enough for such an enterprise, did cowardly abandon the name, and hope to be a King, to the end to reduce himselfe to the title of a Lieutenant to the Crowne" (E2 v^o).

The copy of this treatise on the *present estaté of France* which is in the Huntingdon Library belonged to Harvey, having been given to him, as he notes on the title page, by the printer Wolfe "for a special rare discourse." Beside the passage first quoted, Harvey has noted, "The Duke de Maine"; and in the second passage he has underlined the word "enterprise." This evidence is, of course, abundant to settle Harvey's meaning in "De-Maine entreates the rodd," but for completeness we should add that in the prose text of the *New Letter*, p. 260 (of Grosart's text), he writes, "I have now also this instant of September, perused your quaint, and cunning Discourse of Remonstrances to the *Duke de Maine*, and on p. 262, "The *Duke de Maine* hath chopped upon a main chance." The *New Letter*, it will be recalled, was addressed by Harvey to his printer Wolfe, who had published that year, *Remonstrances To the the Duke De Mayne: Lieutenant Generall of the Estate and Crowne of France. Wherein, by way of information are discovered diuers priuities, concerning the proceedings and affairs of that Duke, and his Associates*. Translated by Ant. Ch. (Harvey's friend Anthony Chute?)

Peace and Spaine in France: On July 31, 1593, Navarre, the League, and the other contending parties arranged for a three months' truce. In the prose text, p. 259, Harvey mentions reading a pamphlet,

⁴⁰ *An Excellent Discourse upon the now present estate of France*. Faithfully translated out of French, by E. A. Imprinted at London by John Wolfe, 1592.

Articles of Accorde or truce in Fraunce. After the withdrawal and death of Parma, Philip of Spain gave up his attempts to control France by force, and became in all but name a party to the truce.

Eckenberg . . . Bassa shames: Ruprecht Freiherr Eggenberg (1545-1611), an Austrian general, defeated the Turks under Hassan Pascha in a great battle at Sissek, June 20, 1593. Harvey mentions on p. 260 "that other new-new Pamflet of the late Turkish assiege of Sysseck in Croatia."

Christian Neptune Turkish Vulcane tames: A reference to the battle of Lepanto in 1571, in the metaphor of a Christian with his water putting out the Greek-fire used by the Turk as a naval weapon. On p. 264 of the *New Letter* Harvey writes, "Who honoureth not the glorious memory, and the very name of Don John of Austria, the security of the Venetian state, the Halleluia of Christendom, and the welaway of Turkey? Christ blesse his standardbearers, with many Lepantos, and Syssecks."

Navarre wooes Roome: As the only means of reconciling his Catholic subjects and so uniting France, Henry listened to his papal instructors and on July 23, 1593, declared himself converted. The second part of the *Excellent Discourse*⁴⁹ is devoted to a long discussion of Navarre's religious policies.

Charlemaine gives Guise the Phy: To explain this phrase Fleay has constructed quite an ingenious hypothesis. He believes that Charlemaine refers to the hero of an old play, such as Peele had in mind when writing the *Farewell to Sir John Norris*,

Bid theatres and proud tragedians,
Bid Mahomets Pow, and mighty Tamhurlaine,
King Charlemaine, Tom Shuckely, and the rest
Adieu⁵⁰

perhaps the same play which Bullen printed in 1884 as *The Distracted Emperor, a Tragi-comedy*.⁵¹ At the same time we are to suppose that Harvey in mentioning Guise is drawing an unfavorable comparison between this Charlemagne drama and Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*.

Tempting though it is to find another thrust at Marlowe in these words, we had best look for a more commonplace meaning. On page 202 of the *New Letter* Harvey writes, "the house of Guise hath long hawked and practised for a great crowne," referring, of course, to the ambitions of the Duke de Guise and his party to control Henry III and eventually to seize the crown. The King

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Fol. K4 ro—P3 vo.

⁵⁰ *Works of George Peele*, ed. Bullen, London, 1888. II, 238.

⁵¹ Printed from Egerton MS. 1894 in *Old English Plays*, ed. Bullen, III, 164-261.

realized his peril and brought about the assassination of the Duke on December 23, 1588, at Blois. There is a good deal of comment on the whole matter in Harvey's source, the *Excellent Discourse*. On the title verso he lists several topics, "The life, and actions of the Queen Mother. The Legendarie of the Guises." among others. In the margin beside a discussion of the Duke's conduct he notes, "The Duke of Guise."⁵³ The text itself supplies what is probably the key to his mention of Charlemagne in connection with Guise (Henry of Lorraine):

" . . . who hath not knowne that the house of Lorraine claimeth to be descended of the stocke of Charlemayne, and pretendeth Antiquum exscindere regnum, et magno gentem deductam rege capto? " ⁵⁴

Weepe Powles, thy Tamberlaine voutsafes to dye: Harvey's ironical manner of proclaiming Marlowe's death by asking sympathy from St. Paul's Cathedral, the perfect antithesis of "atheist Tamberlaine." (Marlowe was used to frequent Paul's; see under "whose mind triumphed on Kent," below.)

Shakerley: According to McKerrow,⁵⁵ some bragging half-wit in the habit of frequenting St. Paul's at the time. Harvey has another jab at Nashe as a second Shakerley in *Pierces Supererogation*: "I have touched the booted Shakerley a little, that is always riding, and neuer rideth; alwayes confuting and never confuteth." ⁵⁶

Rash-swash: headstrong swash-buckler.

Gentlewoman: identity unknown, some friend of Harvey's or perhaps a creation ⁵⁷ of his own. Not intended for the Countess of Pembroke, as Grosart easily assumes in his "Memorial Introduction"; ⁵⁸ when Harvey refers to her in his other works it is unmistakable and with the greatest respect.

Galiard: hardy, valiant. Cf. *Pierces Supererogation, Works*, II, 266, and the prose text of the *New Letter*, pp. 266-7.

Vis consilij capers, mole ruit sua: Horace, Odes, III, 4, 35.

Familiar Spright: Again Fleay's note may serve as perfectly typical of the critical handling which Harvey has enjoyed these three hundred years: " . . . the 'Familiar Sprite' who buzzes epitaphs into Harvey's head as he lies in bed before the dawn, and give him the false news that Marlowe died of the plague, is surely the 'familiar ghost which nightly gulls him with intelligence' of Shakespeare's *Sonnet* 86; and if so, this identifies Shakespeare's rival of *Sonnets* 78-86 with Gabriel Harvey. Shakespeare's known respect for

⁵³ Fol. A3 r^o.

⁵⁴ *T. N.*, IV, 155.

⁵⁵ *G. H.*, II, 322.

⁵⁶ Cf. *T. N.*, IV, 356; V, 89-90.

⁵⁷ *G. H.*, III, xxiii.

Marlowe's memory shows how he would resent such an attack on it as Harvey's." ⁸⁷

Gargantuas race: Cf. *Pierces Supererogation* (II, 224), "Pore I . . . that am matched with such a Gargantuist, as can deuore me quicke in a sallat." In this the reference is of course to Nashe.

Waiment: lament.

Whose mind triumphed on Kent: By these words any contemporary not in Harvey's confidence might have been baffled. *Triumph*, the verb for this and the preceding clause, has the Elizabethan meaning to *exult, boast over*. I judge that *corps* . . . *mind* balance each other in about the sense *physical presence* . . . *cunning*. Powles may be intended to connote first, religion and a sacred place (hateful of course to Marlowe, an atheist); second, the 'stock exchange,' loitering place, and book center, where Marlowe the good-for-nothing scribbler struts about (cf. the phrase *haunted Powles*, and the gloss of *Soanderbeg* . . . *Powles* . . . *bile* below). Kyd's testimony on this custom of Marlowe's supports our view: ". . . please yor Lo to enquire of such as he [Marlowe] conversed wthall, that is (as I am geuen to understand) wth Harriot, Warner, Royden and some stationers in Paules churchyard, whom I in no sort can accuse or will excuse by reson of his companie." (Letter to Sir John Puckering, *Works*, ed. Boas, p. cix.)

The significance of Kent is indeed puzzling. It is perhaps most likely that it alludes to the theatres there, that is in Southwark, the Rose, for example, where Alleyn played the part of Tamburlaine. The meaning would be: He swaggers about Paul's in person as he bombasts over in Kent with the products of his mind—his plays. According to another explanation, it was presumably Marlowe's atheistical views which led to the warrant for his arrest May 18, 1593, at the house of Thomas Walsingham in Kent. He escaped the consequences by incontinently dying, which in Harvey's ironical vein might be to "triumph on Kent." Or it is possible that Kent is used to symbolize as if by title the Archbishop of Canterbury ⁸⁸ and his cathedral seat in Kent—religion in epitome. Finally there is the chance, which will occur to everyone, but for which there is no proof, that Marlowe had some relations with the contemporary nobleman named by his title Kent.⁸⁹ Marlowe, of course, was born in Kent, though I do not see how that can be of point here.

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 65.

⁸⁸ John Whitgift, from 1583-1604.

⁸⁹ Henry Grey (1541-1615) succeeded as 5th Earl of Kent on March 17, 1573. He was one of the commission appointed to try Mary, Queen of Scots, October 6, 1586; Lord Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for County Bedford from September 12, 1587. See *The Official Baronage of England*.

To bate Sir Rodomont an ace: to yield in the least to the greatest of all braggers.

Scanderbeg . . . *Second bile:* Giorgio Castriota (1403-1467), an Albanian prince, and the ablest leader in the patriotic revolt against the Turk, was given the title Iskender Beg or Scanderbeg (Prince Alexander). Like Tamberlaine and Ismail, Scanderbeg was regularly used as a synonym for the mighty warrior and conqueror. For a list of the historical accounts of Scanderbeg and of the works which make use of him as a character, see: Georges T. Petrovitch, *Scanderbeg*, . . . *Essai de bibliographie raisonnee*, Paris, 1881. The *N. E. D.* notes the word as an epithet of abuse, a rascal. In Randolph's *Hey for Honesty*, 1635, III, 1, "And I will be the Scanderbeg of the company, the very Tamerlane of the ragged route." Jonson, *Every Man in his Humor*, 1596, I, 3, 26, "horson Scanderbeg rogue."

Thus it is possible to understand the words without seeking for a hidden meaning as does Fleay in the note which I quote entire:

"The true history of George Scanderbague was played by the Earl of Oxford's servants, and entered *S. R.* July 3, 1601, but is not known to be extant. . . . after allusions to Charlemagne (! *The Distracted Emperor*), Guise (*The Massacre at Paris*), and Tamberlane, Harvey satirises Marlowe for having made Paul's work of Tamberlane. This publication of plays not performed at Court was as yet almost unprecedented. He then goes on: 'is that Gargantua mind conquered and left no Scanderbeg behind? Vowed he not to Paul's a second bile?' This seems to indicate an affected surprise that Marlowe had not published *Scanderbeg* as well as *Tamberlane*, and surely attributes its authorship to Marlowe. The dates would suit very well, for a play performed by the Earl of Oxford's men could not be later than 1588; and Harvey would be likely to know of such plays of Marlowe's as were written at Cambridge and taken with him to London in 1587. This may, then, have been a play performed before any of Marlowe's extant plays, in 1587; and Marlowe may have 'vowed a second bile' to Paul's by an intended publication of it." ⁶⁶

Bile: boil.

Kibe: chilblain.

Tempany: NED. 2. a swelling, as of pride, arrogance, self-conceit figured as a disease.

Poore soules . . . *Coward Lane* (omitting "for faint harts plague themselves"): these lines are intended to represent the haughty speech of Marlowe as he defies the plague to touch him: the sense being "How fatal is the plague to cowards!" The question mark was not infrequently used in place of the exclamation point at this time. For a list of interesting parallels to Coward Lane = cowards, such as, "To send one to Birching Lane, Queer Street, Hempen Lane

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, 64-65.

(to be hanged) Vicar of St. Fool's, etc., see Jespersen, "Punning or Allusive Phrases in English," *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3rd Ser., ix, 65 ff. (1900-1901).

Surquidry: arrogance, overweening pride.

Girn'd: snarl, show the teeth in rage.

Iunos gawdy Bird: the peacock.

Ugly Bugg that scorn'd to dy: *bugg* may of course merely equal *bugaboo*; but in the context it is more probable that Harvey intended this to mean "like Tamburlaine himself." There is a chance too that we have here a reminiscence of the aged Tithonus changed into a grass-hopper.

Bull-beggar: bogy, bugbear.

Powles steeple . . . is downe: It burned when struck by lightning in 1562, and was never replaced.

A paraphrase will bring out my interpretation of *Gorgon* more exactly: "Fame, disposed to fool the world, devised the Armada of '88; whereat the Earth was in great dread lest it upset her balance. The Sun in his course remained serene; for it turned out to be a joke—nothing happened. (ENGLISH affairs). But '93 is indeed a year of wonders: the checking of Parma followed by his death; the presumptuous success of the Duke of Mayenne; a truce between Spain and France; Eggenberg's defeat of the Pascha, and various other Christian victories. (POLITICAL). Protestant Navarre goes over to Rome; the central government ruins the hopes of the Guises; and, the ludicrous climax of all, Marlowe condescends to die—weep, church of Christ! (RELIGIOUS). Envoy: The monstrous absurdity remains: I must crush Nashe. (PERSONAL)."

The other poems elaborate the themes and conceits of *Gorgon*. *A Stanza declarative* is devoted to Nashe. *The Postscript* in some way associates Marlowe and St. Paul's again, in the scornful epitaph, although the line, "Whose Corps on Powles, whose mind triumph'd on Kent" is difficult to interpret. *The Glosse* works out a much more elaborate connection between Marlowe's death, his 'toad conceit' (cf. 'Marlowe's bravados,' quoted above p. 341), and his atheism. The personal application to Harvey and Nashe concludes this as it does all of the other poems.

Thus we find the writer's mind turning over the same three or four ideas in each piece. The two uppermost seem to be a robust

detestation of Nashe and a pious satisfaction that Marlowe has got his deserts.

Let us now examine Mr. Hubbard's position as he states its keystone:

"The title and the first part of the 'Sonet' hold *something* up to ridicule, ~~some~~ 'wonderment' that was to astonish the world, something as terrible as Gorgon. Is it not reasonable to infer that this is the same thing as that referred to in the last line of the sonnet, namely *Tamburlaine*? Is not such an inference almost inevitable?"⁶¹ And his chief evidence in support of this interpretation is afforded by a poem of Harvey's added to *Pierce's Supererogation*,⁶² which was evidently written just before the *New Letter*.

An other occasionall admonition.

*Fame rows'd herselfe, and gan to swash about:
 Boyes swarm'd: youthes throng'd: bloudes swore:
 brutes rear'd the howt:
 Her meritorious worke, a Wonderclowte:
 Did euer Fame so brauely play the Lowte?
 I chaunc'd upon the Ryme: and wondred much
 What courage of the world, or Mister wight
 Durst terrible S. Fame so rashly tuch.*

Or her redoutable Bull-begging knight.

*Incontinent I heard a piercing voyce,
 Not Echos voyce, but shriller than a Larke:
 Sith Destiny allottes no wiser choyce,
 Pastime appose the Pickle-herring clarke.
 Quiet thy rage, Imperious Swish-swash:
 Or Wo be to thy horrible trish-trash.
 Est bene, non potuit dicere: dixit Erit.*

"There is some obscurity in this piece, but it is plain that it refers to Nashe from 'S. Fame' in line 8 and 'her redoubtable Bull-begging knight' in line 9. The first four lines plainly refer to the conclusion of the *Epistle to the Reader* of Nashe's *Strange News*, . . . ; they ridicule Nashe's pretension to fame and belittle his work. Now, if we compare these lines with the first six lines of *Gorgon*, we find points of resemblance in general thought and phraseology. In each Fame raises much ado about something (in the *Admonition* a 'worke') that is to be a wonder (*Gorgon*, 'wonderment' 'wonder'); in each the expected wonder turns out to be a ridiculous failure (*Gorgon*, 'no wonder fell,' *Admonition*, 'a wonderclowte'). There can be no doubt that in the *Admonition* a worke of Nashe's is referred to; we may be sure, then, that in *Gorgon* some work is referred to. The *Admonition* plainly ridicules Nashe and one of his works, *Strange News*; *Gorgon* just as plainly ridicules Marlowe and Tamburlaine."⁶³

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 440.

⁶² *G. H.*, II, 339.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. 440-41.

My first objection to this theory is that it has taken no account of the real trend of Harvey's thought, which appears clearly enough if we accept "wonderment of Eighty-Eight" as being the Armada. It runs something like this: "Five years ago a really serious event of history, only too serious in its threat to England, came to nothing—a joke on Spain. Today there are occurring events of even greater importance, such as this and that; not the least significant is the death of a notorious atheist—a joke too,—on him. I still have a little joke of my own to play." Were *Tamburlaine* in Harvey's mind as opposed to conceited-irreligious-braggart Marlowe (we have seen that these are the points always stressed), we should certainly expect a reflection upon the play in the *Glosse*; but the epithets of ridicule, "Scanderbeg," "tamberlaine contempt," "gawdy bird," and so forth, are all personal in their application.

In the second place, I believe that such a ready and pointed association of the name of a play and its date of appearance is unlikely, if not unexampled, in the works of that age. Particularly is this the case with Harvey, since, to judge by his marginalia,⁶⁴ he does not seem to have followed the popular theatre closely enough for such an idea to occur in his mind; and we do not know that he was in London during 1588.

And again, whatever balance or antithesis is to be found between "wonderment of Eighty Eight" and "Tamberlaine voutsafes to die" can be quite as well, if not more aptly, explained as religious in its point: a Catholic power, the enemy of true religion,⁶⁵ fails in its attempt; likewise does an individual enemy of God, Marlowe, fail in his. This is in accord with the utterances which Harvey, as we have seen, was accustomed to make about Marlowe.

Finally, if my exposition of the trend of Harvey's argument in *Gorgon* is at all correct, the parallel alleged by Mr. Hubbard with *An other occasionall admonition* loses most of its relevance. The former, as Harvey himself says, is "for priuate consideration, very notable; for publique vse passing memorable";⁶⁶ in other words, quite different from the *Admonition*, which is entirely a personal

⁶⁴ Cf. *Marg.*, p. 53-54.

⁶⁵ On p. 262 of the *New Letter* Harvey notes, "The king of Spaine a mighty enemy: the Pope an vnreconcilable aduersary to a Protestant Prince."

⁶⁶ *New Letter*, p. 269.

dig at the enemy, Nashe. The fact, noted by Mr. Hubbard, that Nashe speaks of these and the other poems together proves nothing, since the volumes containing them appeared at the same time and are treated throughout as one in Nashe's reply, *Have with you to Saffron Walden*.

Briefly, I believe that the foregoing has cleared the obscurities in Harvey's poem *Gorgon* so long a puzzle; that it adds in one or two particulars to the known Marlowe data; and that it supports a view of Harvey certain to affect the writing of a history of the English Renaissance. For, consider the nature of Harvey's MS notes as well as his printed references to Marlowe. Commentaries they are, but not literary criticism: they illustrate a view hinted by Moore Smith, in which I entirely agree, to the effect that Harvey the critic of literature merits our attention rather less than Harvey the neglected Elizabethan scholar. Because he and his friend Spenser connived to advertise some youthful experiments in prosody by the publication of five letters, so-called, because Harvey composed two volumes of Latin lectures while an instructor in rhetoric at Cambridge, and because he not infrequently praised his favorite authors in his controversial writings and in his marginalia, we have been accustomed to think him a literary critic of more or less significance. Now it is becoming evident we have quite unduly stressed this feature in his work. The old view was not merely unjust to the man, it led to the ridicule or misinterpretation of most of what he published and to the complete neglect⁶⁷ of the large body of marginalia except as it served the ends of Spenser or Shakespeare scholarship.⁶⁸ It is a certainty that careful examination of these records of a life of study spent in the Great Age will yield full profit.

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⁶⁷ Grosart expressly avoided adding to the "unpleasant bulk" of Harvey's works by including any marginalia. Cf. *G. H.*, III, xxiv.

⁶⁸ I note that Professor Schelling has accepted Harvey's words on *Hamlet* found in the 1598 Chaucer (*Marg.*, p. 232) as dating the play before February, 1601. See *Elizabethan Playwrights*, F. E. Schelling, New York, 1925, p. 98.

A LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PURIST

BY W. F. BRYAN

Although throughout the eighteenth century many minds were concerned with the general problem of English usage or with particular details of it, yet it was not until the last quarter that there appeared any comprehensive treatment of the subject, any formulation of a body of principles whereby propriety in use was to be determined. This general formulation was first made in George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, published in 1776. As its name implies, this work was a complete treatise of all aspects of rhetorical theory as applicable to English, but a relatively large part of it was devoted to the matter of usage. Chapter I of Book II, on "The Nature and Character of the Use which gives Law to Language," established in English the definition of Good Use as that which is Reputable, National, and Present, a definition so sound and serviceable that it has remained unaltered ever since. Chapter II falls into two sections. In the first, recognizing that usage in any period is not always invariable and uniform, Campbell set up five "canons" as criteria for cases of "divided use." In the second, under the heading "Everything favored by good use, not on that account worthy to be retained," he proposed supplementary critical canons by which even generally accepted forms were to be tested and if found unnecessary or objectionable were to be discarded. Chapter III, "Of Grammatical Purity," considered Barbarisms, Solecisms, and Improprieties—categories which Campbell of course did not invent, but which from the time of his *Philosophy of Rhetoric* until the very recent past were essential parts of the apparatus of most treatises on the use of English. In addition to these chapters devoted specifically to questions of usage, pronouncements upon words or phrases condemned for one reason or another appeared in various sections of the work.

In the main Campbell's judgments appear today eminently reasonable; they obviously proceeded from the same clear, analytic, and orderly mind that phrased his definition of good use. If language were purely a creation of the reason, if all its processes could be regulated by a consistent and carefully thought out body of principles, Campbell's canons might serve for all time without essential modification. But the great fact that Campbell and most

of his contemporaries failed to realize and apply practically in their works is that language is not conditioned solely by rational principles, and especially that usage in words, like other questions of taste, is after all a matter of fashion—largely capricious and little amenable to any rule of reason. In the following paper I shall illustrate this fact by presenting some of Campbell's canons to which reasonable exception can hardly be taken, and citing the words or phrases which he rejected because of conflict with these canons but which are in good use today. I shall also present other words and phrases in good use at present which Campbell rejected on various grounds, together with his reasons for condemning them.

In several instances, expressions reprobated by Campbell were also considered by the other foremost independent authorities of his time—Lowth and Priestley in England and Webster in America. These grammarians, though they formulated no body of critical principles concerning the whole subject of good use, made a number of more or less incidental pronouncements upon individual forms or modes of speech. For the sake of completeness I include not merely their statements upon matters considered by Campbell but other judgments of theirs as well which are inconsistent with the accepted practice of the present.¹

The first of Campbell's canons was (I, 374): "When use is divided as to any particular word or phrase, and the expression used by one part hath been preoccupied, or is in any instance susceptible of a different signification and the expression of the other

¹ My references to Campbell are to the first edition of his *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 2 vols., London and Edinburgh, 1776; to Lowth, *A Short Introduction to English Grammar: with Critical Notes*, The second edition, corrected, London, 1763; to Priestley, *The Rudiments of English Grammar . . . with Notes and Observations for the Use of Those Who have made some proficiency in the Language*, A New Edition, Corrected, London, 1769; and to Webster, *A Plain and Comprehensive Grammar*, Thomas and Andrews' Third Edition, Boston, 1794. For the opportunity to examine these texts I am indebted to the Library of Harvard University and the Library of Congress. I have given fuller accounts of these texts in "Notes on the Founders of Prescriptive English Grammar" in the *Manly Anniversary Volume*. The present paper and these "Notes" are complementary studies.

Full discussion of a few of the expressions considered in this paper and of a great many condemned by later grammarians is contained in J. Leslie Hall's *English Usage*, Chicago and New York, 1917.

part never admits a different sense, both perspicuity and variety require, that the form of expression which is in every instance strictly universal, be preferred." Under this canon he would confine *toward*, *forward*, *backward* to employment as adjectives, using only *towards* as the preposition and only *forwards* and *backwards* as adverbs. He would also "prefer that use, which makes *ye* invariably the nominative plural of the personal pronoun *thou*, and *you* the accusative, when applied to actual plurality. When used for the singular number, custom hath determined that it shall be *you* in both cases."

The second canon (I, 378) was: "In doubtful cases, regard ought to be had in our decision to the analogy of the language." By this canon he would reject both *afterward* and *homeward* as adverbs in favor of *afterwards* and *homewards*. He would also insist upon *dares*, *needs* (with the ending *-s*) in the third person singular in such phrases as "he need(s) not go," "he dare(s) not do it"; and this on the ground that as the usage without *-s* is "exceedingly irregular, hardly anything less than uniform practice could authorize it." Webster (p. 70) recognized the distinction between *dare* and *need* as transitive verbs and as auxiliaries. In the former use "they have the regular personal termination; as *he needs a guide; he dares me to enter the list*. But when they are immediately followed by another verb in the infinitive, the personal termination is dropped, and these verbs are to be considered as auxiliaries. Thus, *he need not go; he dare not stay*; where *need* and *dare* stand exactly upon the footing of *may* and *can*. This difference in the use of these words has not before been observed, yet it is as well established as any peculiarity in the language, and insensibly made in practice from the best writers to the humblest cottagers." Webster fell foul of Campbell upon another point under the latter's second canon, though on this point usage has followed Campbell. Campbell preferred *contemporary* to *cotemporary* because the general practice in compounds with *con-* "is to retain the [n] before a consonant, and to expunge it before a vowel or an [h] mute." Webster declared (p. 73) that "the ease of pronunciation, which is the guide in this case, always requires *cotemporary*."

Under this second canon, too, Campbell would "subscribe to the judgment of Dr. Johnson" in preferring *ever so* to *never so* in

such a phrase as "though he were ever so good." In this he agreed with Lowth, who quoted (p. 161, note 7) with approval Johnson's condemnation of *never so* in "charm he never so wisely" as a solecism. Webster (p. 73) insisted that *never so* was preferable: "This phrase was used by all good writers, till since the days of Addison and Swift; when it became offensive to some superficial critics, who rejected, without understanding it." Usage today apparently approves of both, though some shade of difference in use appears to have developed between them. Another phrase condemned by Campbell under this canon was *in no wise*, which he wished to displace by the compound *nowise*, as only the latter was "conformable to the present genius of the tongue. The noun *wise*, signifying manner, is quite obsolete. It remains now only in composition, in which, along with an adjective or other substantive, it forms an adverb or conjunction. Such are *sidewise*, *lengthwise*, *coastwise*, *contrariwise*, *likewise*, *otherwise*. These always preserve the compound form, and never admit a preposition; consequently *nowise*, which is an adverb of the same order, ought analogically to be written in one word, and not to be preceded by *in*." Uncompounded *wise* is in good use today not only as forming a part of the phrase *in no wise*, but in other phrases as well—in *some wise*, *in any wise*, *on this wise*.²

Campbell's second group of canons were prefaced (I, 387-90) by an insistence that despite the final weight of the authority of use, use sometimes countenances forms "that are not in all respects good, or such as are worthy to be retained and imitated. In some instances *custom* may very properly be checked by *criticism*. . . . Here, therefore, lies one principal province of criticism, to point out the characters of these words and idioms which deserve to be disfranchised, and consigned to perpetual oblivion. It is by carefully filing off all roughnesses and inequalities, that language, like metals, must be polished."

His first canon of the second group is (I, 391): "All words and phrases which are remarkably harsh and unharmonious, and not absolutely necessary, may justly be judged worthy of this

² The *Century Dictionary* records the use of *in some wise* by Swift. An examination of eighteenth century literature would probably disclose a number of instances of uncompounded *wise* in other phrases than in *in no wise*.



fate"—i. e. "to be disfranchised and consigned to perpetual oblivion." He continued: "I call a word or phrase absolutely necessary, when we have no synonymous words, in the event of a dismissal, to supply its place, or no way of conveying properly the same idea without the aid of circumlocution. . . . The only difficulty is, to fix the criteria by which we may discriminate the obnoxious words from all others. It may well be reckoned that we have lighted on one criterion, when we have found a decompound or term composed of words already compounded, whereof the several parts are not easily, and therefore not closely united. Such are the words *bare-faced-ness*, *shame-faced-ness*, *un-successful-ness*, *dis-interested-ness*, *wrong-headed-ness*, *tender-hearted-ness*." However objectionably clumsy these words may be, not one of them—not even *unsuccessfulness*—has actually been "consigned to oblivion."

Under the same canon Campbell continued (I, 392-93): "Another criterion is, when a word is so formed and accented as to render it of difficult utterance to the speaker, and consequently disagreeable in sound to the hearer. This happens in two cases; first, when the syllables which immediately follow the accented syllable are so crowded with consonants, as of necessity to retard the pronunciation. The words *questionless*, *chroniclers*, *convénticlors*, *concúpiscence*, *remémbrancer*, are examples of this. . . . The second case . . . is when too many syllables follow the accented syllable. For though these be naturally short, their number, if they exceed two, makes a disagreeable pronunciation. Examples of this are the words *primarily*, *cursorily*, *summarily*, *peremptorily*, *peremptoriness*, *vindicative*; all of which are accented on the fourth syllable from the end. It were to be wished, that the use which now prevails in regard to the manner of accenting some words would alter, as we cannot afford to part with every term that is liable to exception in this respect. Nor is a change here to be despaired of, since we find it hath happened to several words already, as the places which they occupy in ancient poetry sufficiently evince." *

* As the words of the second group above are all more or less learned terms, little used in familiar speech, they are not completely subject to the normal accentual tendencies of English. In *peremptorily*, *peremptoriness* the dictionaries indicate the accent on the first syllable, that is,

Campbell's second canon of this group is (I, 397): "When etymology plainly points to a signification different from that which the word commonly bears, propriety and simplicity both require its dismissal." This statement is carefully qualified: "I use the word *plainly*, because, when the etymology is from an ancient or foreign language, no regard should be had to it. The case is different, when the roots either are, or strongly appear to be, English, are in present use, and clearly suggest another meaning." Under this canon he objected to *beholden*, "obliged, indebted to," because "it should regularly be the past participle of the verb to behold," and "the formation of the word is so analogical, as to make it have at least the appearance of impropriety, when used in a sense that seems naturally so foreign to it." *Beholding* in the same sense—now obsolete—he objected to even more strongly. *To vouchsafe* in the sense of "to condescend" he regarded as an offender against this canon and "for that reason, more than for its harshness, it may be dispensed with. The word *to unloose* should analogically signify *to tie*, in like manner as *to untie* signifies *to loose*. To what purpose is it then, to retain a term, without any necessity, in a signification the reverse of that which its etymology manifestly suggests."

The third canon in this group is (I, 399): "When any words become obsolete, or at least are never used, except as constituting part of particular phrases, it is better to dispense with their service entirely, and give up the phrases." On the basis of this principle, Campbell would have had the language give up the following turns of expression which today maintain a vigorous life: *lief*—"I had as lief go myself"; *dint*—"by dint of argument, of arms"; *whit*—

on the *fifth* syllable from the end; in the other words the indicated accentuation is that objected to by Campbell. Yet when these words are used in actual speech, I have observed a tendency toward a modification such as that urged by him. This may take the form of a slurring or even elision of a syllable, or a shift of stress. For example, much the most usual pronunciation of *peremptorily* with which I am familiar, even among cultivated speakers—the word is hardly used by any others—is *perémptirily*. In the case of *primarily* when I have heard it pronounced with stress on the first syllable the second has been elided; but by far the most usual pronunciation is with level stress on the first two syllables, or with appreciably greater stress on the second syllable.

"He is *not a whit better*"; *moot*—"The case you mention is a *moot point*"; and *pro and con*.⁴

The fourth and last canon is (I, 400): "All those phrases, which, when analysed grammatically, include a solecism, and all those to which use hath affixed a particular sense, but which, when explained by the general and established rules of language, are susceptible either of a different sense or of no sense, ought to be discarded altogether." He continued: "It is this kind of phraseology which is distinguished by the epithet *idiomatical*, and hath been originally the spawn, partly of ignorance, and partly of affectation." *Had rather* (instead of *would rather*) he considered "a gross violation of the rules of conjugation in our language, and though good use may be considered as protecting this expression from being branded with the name of a blunder, yet as it is both irregular and unnecessary, I can foresee no inconvenience that will arise from dropping it altogether." Though Webster (p. 70) regarded *had rather*, *had as lief* as peculiar idioms, he nevertheless supported them: "These expressions, *I had rather, you had better, I had as lief*, seem not grammatical. Whether *had* is, in these phrases, a corruption of *would*, or an old peculiarity, its general use, both in books and speech, undoubtedly entitle [sic] it to an establishment in grammar."⁵ As "vile but common phrases, sometimes to be found in good authors . . . which can scarcely be considered as literally conveying any sense" (I, 402) Campbell cited *shooting at rovers, currying favour, dancing attendance*—all in good use today—together with *having a month's mind*, which apparently has passed out of currency. "Of the same kind also, though not reprehensible in the same degree, is the idiomatical use that is sometimes made of certain verbs, as *stand* for insist, 'he *stands* upon security'; *take* for understand, in such phrases as these, 'You *take* me,' and 'as I *take* it'; *hold* for continue, as 'he does not *hold* long in one mind.'"

"I can readily understand that Campbell should object to this last phrase, but I cannot understand his placing it in this group of phrases composed of obsolete terms.

⁴ See Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-121 for a full account of the attacks on *had rather* and its later rehabilitation. Hall noted Webster's objection to this locution in his dictionary, but did not observe the defense of it in his grammar—apparently the only defense of it in the later eighteenth century.

These canons are followed, somewhat incongruously, by the statement (I, 404-05) that "the want of etymology, whatever be the opinion of some grammarians, cannot be reckoned a sufficient ground for the suppression of a significant term which hath come into good use. . . . No absolute monarch hath it more in his power to nobilitate a person of obscure birth, than it is in the power of good use to ennoble words of low or dubious extraction; such, for instance, as have either arisen, nobody knows how, like *fib*, *banter*, *bigot*, *fop*, *flippant*, among the rabble, or like *flimsy*, sprung from the cant of manufacturers." But this statement is immediately qualified (I, 406): "It ought, at the same time, to be observed, that what hath been said on this topic, relates only to such words as bear no distinguishable traces of the baseness of their source; the case is quite different in regard to those terms, which may be said to proclaim their vile and despicable origin, and that either by associating disagreeable and unsuitable ideas, as *bellytimber*, *thorowstitch*, *dumbfound*; or by betraying some frivolous humour in the formation of them, as *transmogrify*, *bamboozle*, *topsyturvy*, *pellmell*, *helterskelter*, *hurlyburly*. These may all find a place in burlesque, but ought never to show themselves in any serious performance." Though *bellytimber* and *thorowstitch* are now as dead as Campbell could have wished them to be and *transmogrify* and *bamboozle* are still avoided "in any serious performance," the other words are in at least good colloquial use and no purist today would object to *dumbfound* and *pellmell*.

Under the general heading of "Grammatical Purity" Campbell devoted a considerable section (I, 410-29) to "Barbarisms." Concerning his first class of barbarisms—obsolete terms—he stated (I, 411): "We ought, therefore, not only to avoid words, that are no longer understood by any but critics and antiquarians, such as *hight*, *cleped*, *uneath*, *erst*, *whilom*; we must also, when writing in prose and on serious subjects, renounce the aid of those terms, which, though not unintelligible, all writers of any name have now ceased to use. Such are *behest*, *fantasy*, *tribulation*, *erewhile*, *whenas*, *peradventure*, *selfsame*, *anon*." His excellent presentation of objections (I, 412-17) to barbarisms of his second class—"words wholly new"—is illustrated especially by importations from the French; among these he condemns *connoisseur*, *reconnoitre*, and *sortie*. Of one who should undertake to introduce foreign terms,

he declared: "If he should not be followed in the use of those foreign words which he hath endeavoured to usher into the language, if they meet not with a favourable reception from the Public, they will ever appear as spots in his work. Such is the appearance which the terms *opine*, *ignore*, *fraicheur*, *adroitness*, *opiniatry*, *opiniatrety*, have at present in the writings of some ingenious men." In the case of both these varieties of barbarism, exception can hardly be taken against Campbell's statement of principle; and yet today just as little can exception be taken against many of the individual words he condemned.

Appearing somewhat out of place in his discussion of the third division of barbarisms—"new formations and compositions, from primitives in present use"—was Campbell's (I, 422 ff.) effective and extremely sensible statement of objections to a pedantic reformation of terms once foreign but later completely naturalized in order to bring them in spelling or pronunciation nearer "to the original names as they appear in the language from which these words were taken." And yet despite his arguments against such preciosity, arguments that would be held perfectly valid at any time, several of the reformations to which he objected have displaced words once apparently well grounded in use. Among these intruders, *Mohammed*, *Mohammedan* are today much more generally employed than are *Mahomet*, *Mahometan*,^{*} *Moslem* than *Mussulman*, and *Koran* than *Alcoran*. Further, *dervish* and *pasha*, clearly deriving from the newer *dirvesh* and *pacha* which Campbell attacked have displaced the older *dervis* and *bashaw* which he defended. Of the forms Campbell cited as the more familiar in his day, only *Zoroaster*, *Confucius*, and *hegira* have maintained themselves against *Zerdusht*, *Con-fut-cee*, and *hejra*.

The section on "improprieties" (I, 456-87) contains a number of precise discriminations between words sometimes inaccurately used one for the other, a section in the main as serviceable today as it was a century and a half ago. Among these, however, are two or three distinctions no longer observed—as, indeed, they were not generally when Campbell made them. One of these (I, 457) is a distinction between *sophist*, "a teacher of philosophy in ancient

* *Mohammedism*, which Campbell gave as the pedantically newer equivalent of *Mahometism*, after having been slightly altered to *Mohammedanism* has become the current term.

Greece," and *sophister*, "a specious but false reasoner"; at present *sophister* is little used, and *sophist* is usually employed in the sense Campbell assigned to *sophister*. Again (I, 471) he urged the retention of the old plural *enow*, to be distinguished from *enough*: "*Enough* is frequently confounded with *enow*, and used for it. Both denote sufficiency, the former in quantity or in degrees of quality, the latter in number. Thus we say properly, 'We have courage *enough*, and ammunition *enough*; but we have not men *enow*.'" In this distinction he had been anticipated by Priestley, who stated (p. 73) that "we say *enough* with respect to quantity, which is singular; and *enow* with respect to number, which is plural," and gave illustrations of *enow* from Addison and Hume. Webster (p. 68) stated that "*enow* in the plural is still used by some writers, particularly the Scotch; but *enough* is now generally used in both numbers."⁷ One other of Campbell's objections was directed against two idiomatic usages current in his day and ever since. He stigmatized them (I, 469-70) under the head of "vulgarism, in which only a low and partial use can be pleaded in support of the application that is made of a particular word." The first was "speaking to the following points," quoted from the *Guardian*; the second, the use of *it* "made sometimes to follow neuter verbs, as in the following passage: 'He is an assertor of liberty and property; he rattles *it* out against popery and arbitrary power . . .'" quoted from Swift's *Project for the Advancement of Religion*. Priestley (p. 86) had noted this use of *it*, but had merely stated that sometimes it "connects so closely with the verb, that it seems only to modify its meaning, and not to have any separate signification of its own." Webster, obviously following Priestley, stated (p. 68): "Sometimes *it* seems to coalesce with the verb in sense."

In two further groups of particulars usage has gone counter to Campbell's pronouncements. The first comes under his discussion of mixed figures of speech, or "catachresis" (II, 225): "There are a few phrases which come under the same denomination, and which, though favored by custom, being quite unnecessary, deserve

⁷ Webster's statement as to the dialectical character of the use of *enow* is undoubtedly correct. This form was probably familiar to Priestley, a "north country" man, and to Campbell, a Scotchman, after it had become practically obsolete in standard English.

to be exploded. Such, amongst others, are the following . . . a *man of war* for a *ship of war*; and a *merchantman* for a *trading vessel*. The absurdity in the last two instances is commonly augmented by the words connected in the sequel, in which, by the application of the pronouns *she* and *her*, we are made to understand that the man spoken of is a female. I think this gibberish ought to be left entirely to mariners, amongst whom, I suppose, it hath originated." The second comes under the discussion of pleonasm (II, 280-81): "As there are some single words, which have I know not what air of tautology, there are some also which have a pleonastic appearance. Such are the following, *into, until, selfsame, foursquare, devoid, despoil, disannul, oftentimes, nowadays, downfall, furthermore, wherewithal*; for *to, till, same, square, void, spoil, annul, often, now, fall, further, wherewith*. . . . It would not be right to preclude entirely the use of them in poetry, where the shackles of metre render variety more necessary, but they ought to be used very sparingly, if at all, in prose." It is of course unnecessary to call attention to the fact that most of these words are in perfectly good prose use today.

Several of the observations upon usage made in the *grammars* of Lowth, Priestley, and Webster have already been quoted in connection with Campbell's statements. Some few other instances remain to be noted in which the preferred practice of today differs from that indicated by these authorities. That they are not more numerous is probably due to the fact that these writers, Lowth and Webster especially, were primarily interested in the grammatical structure of the language rather than in questions of propriety in word or phrase. Priestley's "Notes and Observations," it is true, make up a large part of his work, but they deal much more with peculiarities of syntax than with questions of usage in any restricted sense.⁸

⁸ As might be expected, Priestley was much more the scientific observer of English as actually used than were Lowth and Campbell and Webster. As a result, in several particulars he anticipated the grammarians of the present day. For example, so far as I have found, he was the first to recognize in English the passive force of the active verb form in certain expressions. His statement (p. 111) is: "In some very familiar forms of speech, the active seems to be put for the passive form of verbs and participles. I'll teach you all what's *owing* to your queen. Dryden. The books continue *selling*, i. e. *upon the sale*, or *to be sold*. It may be

Lowth, in discussing irregular comparison, in a footnote (p. 43) to *little, less, least*, quoted with approval Dr. Johnson's condemnation of *lesser*: "*Lesser*, says Mr. Johnson, is a barbarous corruption of *Less*, formed by the vulgar from the habit of terminating comparisons in *er*." Lowth added: "*Worser* sounds so much more barbarous, only because it has not been so frequently used." Priestly, on the contrary, defended *lesser* (p. 75): "The word *lesser*, though condemned by Mr. Johnson, and other English grammarians, is often used by good writers." In support of this form he cited two instances from Smollett's *Voltaire*.

Priestley's statements concerning the formation of certain plurals are not wholly in keeping with the usage urged today. In the case of such compounds as *handful* he observed (pp. 58-59) that for the plural "some would say *two hands full*; others, *two handfuls*." He did not undertake to decide which was preferable. In considering the plural of a name with a prefixed title, he stated (p. 59): "When a name has a title prefixed to it, as Doctor, Miss, Master, &c., the plural termination affects only the latter of the two words; as *the two Doctor Nettletons*, *the two Miss Thomsons*; tho' a strict analogy would plead for the alteration of the former word, and lead us to say, *the two Doctors Nettleton*, *the two Misses Thomson*; for if we supplied the ellipsis, we should say, *the two Doctors of the name of Nettleton*; . . . and I remember to have met with this construction somewhere, either in *Clarissa* or *Sir Charles Grandison*; but I cannot now recollect the passage." In the case of *handful*, Webster, as usual, was very positive (p. 67): "It appears to me as plain as *two shoemakers*, or *two shoes maker*. The word *handful* is a noun, the name of a certain quantity, and the sign of the plural ought to be added to the termination. *Two handfuls* does not convey the idea; it means two separate *hands* filled; whereas *two handfuls* means twice the quantity that the

supposed, that this instance is a contracted form of speaking, the word ending in *ing*, being a noun and the preposition being understood; so we may say, *the brass is forging*; i. e. *at the forging*, or *in the act of forging*." Nor have I encountered any earlier recognition of the pronominal, pro-adverbial use of *so* (p. 137): "The word *so* has, sometimes, the same meaning with *also*, *likewise*, *the same*; or rather it is the equivalent to the universal pronoun *le* in French. They are happy; we are not *so*, i. e. not happy."

hand will contain, which is our meaning when we use the word." Concerning the plural of a name and a title he stated simply (p. 67): "We usually say, 'the Miss Smiths'; 'the Misses Smith,' is more accurate."

Finally, two other expressions to which Priestley objected are in unexceptionable use today. The first is the use of *million* limiting a substantive directly without an intervening *of*—*a million men*. Priestley's statement (p. 74) is: "Some adjectives of number are more easily converted into substantives than others. Thus we more easily say *a million of men*, than *a thousand of men*. On the other hand, it will hardly be admitted to say *a million men*; whereas *a thousand men* is quite familiar." The second objection is to two genitives limiting the same substantive (p. 71): "It is by no means elegant to use two English genitives in construction with the same noun. He summoned an assembly of bishops and abbots, whom he acquainted with *the pope's and the king's* pleasure. (Hume Hist.) The pleasure of *the pope and the king*, would have been better."

The first object of this paper has been to illustrate through Campbell the futility of attempting to direct or restrain usage, so far as individual turns of expression are concerned, by the application of purely rational principles. On the whole, Campbell's canons and his other statements of principle will, I believe, generally appear to be thoroughly reasonable; if propriety in language were determined solely by an appeal to reason, it would be difficult to pick flaws in many of his critical dicta on the subject. And yet, of the words and phrases Campbell condemned under his least exceptionable statements of principle, a goodly number—probably the greater number—are in general and unblemished use today. A further object has been to collect forms and turns of expression which were objected to by the foremost authorities on English a century and a half ago, but which, despite these animadversions, have since gained full admission or maintained their position; such a collection of material has, I think, both curious interest and historic value.

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PITCH PATTERNS IN ENGLISH

BY KEMP MALONE

The Dutch scholar, van Ginneken, in his *Principes de Linguistique Psychologique*, defines accent thus :

J'appelle "accent" la plus grande énergie psychique qu'un phonème possède plus que d'autres et qui se manifeste au dehors en faisant ressortir plus fortement une de ces cinq qualités, c'est à dire intensité, hauteur, quantité, timbre et articulation.

One difficulty with this definition is that it overemphasizes the element of comparison in accentuation. Accent is certainly a relative matter, like many other things, and our feeling for it involves comparison, but this comparison need not be continually to the fore in our minds, as van Ginneken's definition implies. Thus, we may ejaculate an "Oh" in isolation, with more or less energy. When we do, we do not think of it as strong or weak in comparison with other "Ohs" that we, or somebody else, ejaculated upon other occasions. We think of it more simply, viz., as strong or weak. The comparative element is there, but it is implicit, not explicit, in our judgment. The same holds, though to a less degree, in a series of units differing in energy. Comparison is always present, but by no means always to the fore with us. For this and other reasons I prefer a somewhat different definition of accent, a definition which I have published in my *Phonology of Modern Icelandic*, Part I, page 6. It reads thus :

The enunciation of any speech unit necessarily involves the expenditure of a certain minimum of energy. Such a minimum may therefore be looked upon as inherent in the unit. Any additional increment of energy would then constitute the accent of the unit.

One great advantage of this definition is that it agrees with common sense and common usage. For van Ginneken would confine us to the peaks, the heights of speech, in our use of the term. But we use it habitually in a broader sense. We refer continually to speech units as spoken with strong accent, with weak accent, with no accent at all. In the last case we obviously mean that no energy has been expended beyond that minimum needed to enunciate the unit. When we speak of weak accent we do not necessarily mean

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that our unit stands out but slightly in comparison with its neighbors. We often mean, rather, that its neighbors (if it has any) stand out in comparison with it! Here at least, I think, common sense and science need not part company. There remains, it is true, a certain difficulty, viz., the difficulty of measuring accurately that minimum of energy inherent in the speech unit. Our troubles even here, however, are more theoretical than practical. In practice one may either disregard the distinction altogether, lumping minimum and increment under the head "accent," or one may treat as a minimum the smallest expenditure of energy actually recorded for the unit under investigation.

Let me continue by quoting further from my *Icelandic Phonology*. Speech energy, I say, falls into two main subdivisions: energy of production (dynamic energy) and energy of maintenance (static energy). The latter is measured by its duration, and hence gives us durative accent or time accent. Dynamic accent is measured by the quantity of both its muscular and its vibratory effect (so far as the unit is "voiced"). Hence it gives us, on the one hand, dynamic accent proper or stress; on the other, tonic accent or pitch. As to tonic accent, van Ginneken has this to say:

Quant au son musical, nous établissons évidemment une différence entre les notes aiguës et les notes basses. Les sons aigus ont plus d'énergie psychique et, in casu, l'accent musical.

Here again I cannot agree with the Dutch scholar. As before he limits the term "accent" in a way not justified either by actual usage or by scientific analysis of the phenomena. In my view tonic accent, or the accent of pitch, manifests itself not in high notes alone, but in groups of tones high, mean, and low, groups to which I have given the name "pitch patterns." Without arguing the point, let me pass on at once to these patterns.

Intonation, or pitch variation in speech, is probably the most important constituent in the sum total of speech peculiarities that give one an accent (as it is called). Yet, curiously enough, intonation has been little studied. About the only classification I have been able to find for English is the good old three-fold one of rising, falling, and level intonation—a classification so obvious that it hardly deserves the name. Not a few analyses of connected speech exist, it is true, and these in modern books appear in the

form of intonation curves which represent graphically the rise and fall of the voice. But it seems to have occurred to no one to study such curves and determine from them whether any system of pitch patterns is in use. This task I have accordingly undertaken, and in the present paper I wish to present my results. I need hardly say that my conclusions do not exhaust the subject, based as they are on investigations necessarily limited in time and scope. I believe them to be valid as far as they go, however, and I hope this paper may at least serve to open for investigation a new and fruitful field.

I have taken as a basis for this study a conversational passage printed by Mr. Daniel Jones on pp. 87-97 of his *Pronunciation of English* (London, 1914). Mr. Jones prints the passage in phonetic script, and indicates by intonation curves the rise and fall of the voice in his pronunciation. Mr. Jones's pronunciation seems to be representative of standard London English. My own pronunciation has a rather different basis, as will be sufficiently clear when I say that I was born and brought up in the state of Mississippi. Naturally, then, I found myself disagreeing with Mr. Jones not infrequently. I have tabulated these disagreements and so come to some conclusions (very incomplete, but accurate as far as they go) as to differences between Mr. Jones's pitch patterns and my own, in form and use. My investigations, in other words, have led to a two-fold result. On the one hand I have worked out certain pitch patterns in common use in English (a thing, be it emphasized, which Mr. Jones did not do). On the other hand, I have discovered certain differences in dialect between Mr. Jones and myself. The latter ought to be of special interest to the dialectologist, of course. The former ought to have some value not only for dialectology but also for English phonetics in general.

The passage which forms the basis of the present study is an extract from Mr. E. F. Benson's *Dodo*. Mr. Jones uses it as an example of the rapid conversational style. I have divided the passage into numbered parts, each of which makes a pitch pattern. I print the text in italics, and add after each pattern a classification, as *dip*, *run*, etc. Where Mr. Jones and I differ, I indicate by J (= Jones) and M (= Malone) the intonation to which the classification applies. The explanation of the terms which I use will be found below. Our passage follows:

1. *At this moment* prefix + dip
2. *a shrill voice called Dodo from the drawing room* prefix + down run
3. *"Dodo, Dodo"* double down run beginning with lift (J); double down run ending with lift (M)
4. *it cried.* up or even run (may be taken as tail of preceding phrase)
5. *"the man brought me two tepid poached eggs!"* prefix + dip + down run
6. *do send me something else.* dip
7. *is there such a thing as a grilled bone?* dip
8. *these remarks were speedily followed up* double or triple dip
9. *by the appearance of Miss Staines at the dining room door.* prefix + dip + down run (J); prefix + double dip ending in drop (M)
10. *in one hand* up run ending in lift (J); prefix + dip beginning with drop and ending in lift (M)
11. *she held the despised eggs* long prefix + down run (J); up run ending in drop (M)
12. *in the other* up run
13. *a quire of music paper* prefix + down run
14. *behind her followed a footman* prefix + dip + suffix
15. *with her breakfast tray* prefix (or gradient prefix) + down run
16. *—inexcusable ignorance* gradient prefix + dip
17. *as to what was required of him* prefix + down run
18. *"Dear Dodo"* she went on dip beginning with lift
19. *"You know when I'm composing a symphony"* gradient prefix + multiple dip
20. *I want something more exciting than two poached eggs.* prefix + multiple dip ending in drop and lift (my highest high is on *exciting*; J's, on *want*)
21. *Mr Broxton I know'll take my side.* double dip + down run
22. *You couldn't eat poached eggs at a ball* prefix + dip, ending in drop (J), in drop and lift (M).
23. *could you?* down run beginning with drop
- 24^a. *they might do very well for a funeral march* gradient prefix + double dip ending in drop (J); without drop (M)
- 24^b. *or a nocturne* up run ending in drop (J); part of preceding phrase (M)
25. *but they won't do for a symphony* prefix + double dip; or, single dip followed by suffix
26. *especially for the scherzo* prefix + double dip
27. *a brandy and soda and a grilled bone is what one really wants for the scherzo* prefix + triple dip
28. *"only that would be quite out of the question."* gradient prefix + double dip + suffix
29. *Edith Staines talked in a loud determined voice* dip + down run
30. *and emphasized her points with little dashes and flourishes of the dish of poached eggs* prefix + multiple dip + down run

31. *at this moment* prefix + dip
32. *one of them flew on to the floor and exploded* double dip + down run (J); double dip ending in drop + suffix (M)
33. *but it's an ill wind that blows nobody any good* prefix + double dip
34. *and at any rate this relieved the footman from his state of indecision* prefix + triple dip + down run
35. *his immediate mission was clearly to remove it* prefix + double dip + down run (J); prefix + multiple dip ending in drop + suffix (M)
36. *Dodo threw herself back in her chair* dip (J); dip with prefix (M)
37. *with a peal of laughter* prefix + down run
38. "Go on, go on" she cried down run (J); down run beginning with lift (M)
39. "You are too splendid" gradient prefix + down run
40. *tell us what you write the presto on* dip + suffix
41. "I can't waste another moment" prefix + dip ending in drop + suffix
42. *said Edith* level or up run (may be treated as part of preceding phrase)
43. *I'm in the middle of a most entrancing motif* gradient prefix + dip ending in drop + down run
44. *which is working out beautifully* prefix + dip ending in drop + suffix
45. *do you mind my smoking in the drawing room?* dip, with first high on do (J); prefix + dip, with first high on mind (M)
46. *I'm awfully sorry* prefix + dip, ending in drop and lift
47. *but it makes all the difference to my work* gradient prefix + down run
48. *burn a little incense there afterwards* dip ending in drop + suffix
49. *do send me a done, Dodo* dip beginning with lift (J); with drop (M)
50. *come and hear me play the scherzo later on* dip + down run
51. *it's the best thing I've ever done* prefix + dip ending in drop
52. *Oh* lift and drop
53. *by the way* down run beginning with lift (J); up run ending in drop (M)
54. *I telegraphed to Herr Truffen to come tomorrow* prefix + double dip
55. *he's my conductor, you know* dip + suffix
56. *You can put him up in the village or the coal hole if you like* prefix + triple dip, first high on put (J); prefix + triple dip, ending with drop and lift, and with first high on up (M)
57. *he's quite happy if he gets enough beer* prefix + double dip (J); prefix + double dip, ending in drop and lift (M)
58. *he's my German conductor, you know* prefix + dip + suffix
59. *I made him entirely* prefix + dip ending in drop + suffix
60. *I took him to the Princesse the other day* double up run ending in lift
61. *when I was at Aix* up run
62. *and we all had beer together* gradient prefix + down run
63. *in the verandah of the Beau Site* prefix + down run (J); prefix + dip, ending in drop (M)
64. *You'll be amused with him.* up run ending in drop + suffix

65. "Oh, rather," said Dodo lift and drop + lift and drop + up run
66. "that'll be all right dip
67. he can sleep in the house up run ending in drop
68. will he come early tomorrow? dip (J); prefix + dip, with high on come (M)
69. let's see down run
70. tomorrow's Sunday gradient prefix + down run
71. Edith! down run
72. I've got an idea! prefix + down run, high on got (J); up run ending in drop (M)
73. we'll have a dear little service in the house gradient prefix + down run
74. we can't go to church if it snows prefix + double dip, ending in drop and lift
75. and you shall play your mass prefix + dip
76. and Herr what's his name shall conduct gradient prefix + dip
77. and Bertie and Grantie and you and I'll sing triple up run + down run (J); triple up run ending in drop (M)
78. won't it be lovely? dip ending in drop + suffix
79. you and I'll settle all that this afternoon dip + down run (J); double dip ending in drop (M)
80. telegraph to Truffle dip
81. or whatever his name is up run
82. to come by the eight-twenty gradient prefix + down run
83. then he'll be here by twelve prefix + dip (J); prefix + dip, ending in drop and lift (M)
84. and we'll have the service at a quarter past." gradient prefix + down run
85. "Dodo, that'll be grand," said Edith dip, ending in drop + suffix
86. "I can't wait now prefix + dip ending in drop and lift
87. Goodbye dip (J); up run ending in drop and lift (M)
88. hurry up my breakfast dip (J); prefix + dip + suffix (M)
89. I'm awfully sharp-set ". prefix + dip
90. Edith went back to the drawing room double dip (J); prefix + lift, or + down run (in either case beginning with back) (M)
91. whistling in a particularly shrill manner dip + gradient suffix

In any investigation of pitch patterns the unit must be the phrase, of course. Upon examining the phrases of our passage (each phrase will be referred to by its number as given above), I found abundant evidence of the existence of two distinct patterns, patterns to which I have given the names *dip* and *run*. The dip follows the general pitch sequence high-low-high. Hence the name.

Examples: 6, 7, 36J, 45J, 66, 68J, 80, 87J, 88J. In all these the phrase begins and ends with a high pitch, while the intermediate stages are low in comparison. The number of members of the sequence is in theory unlimited but in practice not great. A dip sequence may be formulated as *hlh*, where *h* stands for "high," *l* for "low." A fuller formulation would be *hxlzh*, where *x* stands for pitches intermediate between high and low, but such pitches need not be present. Furthermore, *l* may and commonly does stand for more than one member (or syllable). In our formula, then, *h* represents the extremes, *l* the body of the dip. Again, we find phrases where the pitch sequence is not high-low-high but rather high-low-high-low-high. This may be called a double dip. Examples: 8, 90J. Similarly, one may have triple and even quadruple dups. Thus, 8 may be read as a triple dip.

If we examine more closely our highs, we see that they are not all alike, but fall into three classes, viz., rising, level, and falling. Thus, in 18, *Dear* begins with a high that reaches its peak only on the second element of the diphthong; such a rising high may be called a *lift*. Similarly 49J. Likewise, a falling high appears in 11M, 53M, 85. This kind of high I call a *drop*. I have no special term to suggest for the level high of 66, 80, etc. Finally, we have the *drop and lift*, as in 20, 22M, 83M.

Dips often appear in expanded form. The expansion is due to the inclusion of a prefix, a suffix, or both. The expanded formula reads *phlhs*. The prefix is a short introduction used to give the dip a running start, as it were. It occurs in two varieties, the simple and the gradient. The simple prefix consists of one or more syllables, usually of mean pitch but in any case on the same level. Examples: 1 (one-syllable), 25 (two-syllable), 9 (three-syllable). The gradient on the other hand gives a gradual rise to the initial high of the dip. It is much less frequent than the simple prefix. Examples: 24a, 43. The suffix serves as a kind of tail-piece to the dip. Like the prefix, it is usually simple, as 14 (one-syllable), 40 (two-syllable), 44 (three-syllable), 55 (three-syllable). It may follow a level high, as 14, or a drop, as 59.

The run differs from the dip in that one direction of movement is maintained throughout its duration. Three varieties of runs occur: monotone, or level runs; ascending, or up runs; and de-

scending, or down runs. Examples: level runs, 4 (these are rare); up runs: 4, 11M, 12, 53M, 60, 61, 64, 67, 81, 87; down runs: 13, 17, 23, 37, 38, 39 etc. The formula for the level run is *m . . .* (where *m* stands for mean pitch); for the up run, *lxh*; for the down run, *hxl*. In a fuller form, i. e., with provision for prefix and suffix, the formulas for up run and down run read *lxhs* and *phxl* respectively. Runs, like dips, may be double. Examples: 3 (down), 60 (up).

The level run occurs rarely. As its name implies, it is uniform in pitch throughout. This pitch is usually mean. Level runs are rarely long; they occur most often in tags, like 4 and 42. Up runs end on a level high, as 12, a lift, as 60, or a drop, as 67. They may be without a suffix, as 11M, or may be followed by a simple suffix, as 64. I have however found no case where an up run was followed by a gradient suffix. The down run may begin on a level high, as 69, a lift, as 53J, or a drop, as 23. It may be preceded by a simple prefix, as 13 (one-syllable), 17 (two-syllable). Occasionally we find a gradient prefix, as 62, 73, followed by a down run, but this is rare.

Some pitch patterns appear to be neither dips nor runs, but rather compounds of dips and runs. Examples: 5, 21, 29, 30, 34, 43, 50.

Now as to the differences between Mr. Jones and me in our intonation. First of all, Mr. Jones uses down runs more than I do. In place of these I often have dips or up runs, ending in a drop. Examples are numerous: 9, 11, 32, 35, 53, 63, 72, 77, 79. The drop of course serves the same function as Mr. Jones's down run, but the tonic effect is concentrated in a single syllable with me, while Mr. Jones spreads it out over several syllables. My method is more dramatic, perhaps; Mr. Jones's, more placid. Secondly, Mr. Jones often uses a drop where I use drop and lift. Examples: 22 and 24 (note *funeral march* and *nocturne* in 24). Or he may use a lift where I use drop and lift. Examples: 56, 57, 83, 87. The use of drop and lift is supposed to be especially characteristic of American English, and I find some confirmation of this. Drop and lift sometimes appears in British usage too, however, as in 20. Thirdly, Mr. Jones's initial high may appear earlier in the phrase than mine, or, if there are more than two highs, his initial high is more likely to be the dominant. Examples: 20, 36, 45, 56, 57,

68, 88, 90. This peculiarity of British intonation has doubtless often come to the reader's notice. An American feels that the early appearance of the first high is somewhat mechanical, while his own high falls on the really important word. I don't know how an Englishman would feel about it.¹

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¹ Since writing this paper I have become acquainted with Mr. H. E. Palmer's *English Intonation* (Heffer), a book of great interest and value to students of pitch. Mr. Palmer's treatment of the subject is so different from mine that I need do no more than call the reader's attention to his work.

CHAUCER'S "COLLE TREGETOUR"

BY JAMES F. ROYSTER

Ther saugh I *Colle tregetour*
Upon a table of sicamour
Pleye an uncouth thing to telle;
I saugh him carrien a wind-melle
Under a walsh-note shale.

—*House of Fame*, ll. 1277-1281.

Who is Colle Tregetour, a magician so mighty as to be able to conceal a wind-mill under a walnut shell? Chaucer students have generally regarded the name as a blind reference. Professor Skeat alone has ventured a note on Colle.¹ Though it is not what Professor Kittredge years ago said of the same editor's explanation of the quality of the Prioress's French, "the very worst note ever written on a passage of Chaucer,"² it is certainly one of the most useless comments ever made upon the poet's text. "Colle is here," says Professor Skeat, "a proper name, and distinct from the prefix *col-* in *col-fox*."³ N. P. Tale, B. 4405. Colle is the name of a dog, N. P. Tale, B. 4573. Colyn and Colle [variant forms] are names of grooms; Political Songs, bk. ii." But the question remains: who is Colle Tregetour?

It will be remembered that in the lines immediately preceding the mention of Colle's name in *The House of Fame* Chaucer had recorded his vision of an assembly of tregetours, charmeresses, olde wicches, phitonesses, and sorceresses among the marvels of the castle "al of stone of beryle." From this large group "who conne wel al this magic naturel" Chaucer chose to name only Medea, Circes, Calipsa, Hermes Ballenus,⁴ Lymote,⁵ and Simon Magus, "and knew hem by name." This is a fairly comprehensive list of stock representatives of the magic arts.

At the end of the company of sorcerers assembled from classical

¹ *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, III, 273.

² *The Nation* (New York), 1895, I, 240.

³ Perhaps no longer to be regarded as a prefix here. See Hotson, J. L., "Colfox vs. Chauntecleer." *PMLA.*, XXXIX, 726 ff.

⁴ Hermes Ballenus is "perhaps a corruption of Apollonius of Tyana" (Thorndike, Lynn, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, I, 267).

⁵ Lymote, Professor Hales (Skeat, *loc. cit.*) has properly identified as Elymas of Acts xii, 8.

and early Christian history, Chaucer introduces us in the lines quoted at the beginning of this paper to a contemporary Englishman who is mentioned by a writer of the last decade of Chaucer's life as a magician with a reputation for having performed many marvels by means of his necromantic skill. This reference to a certain "Colin T. [= Tregetour]" as a well-known English magician may be found in the earliest extant French conversation manual, *La Maniere de language qui t'enseigners bien adroit parler et escrire doulz francois selon l'usage et la coustume de France*. The *Maniere* was printed by P. Meyer from Harleian MS 3988 in the *Revue Critique* for 1873 and was collated with and in part printed from All Souls' College (Oxford) MS 182 by E. Stengel in the first volume of the *Zeitschrift für neufranzösischen Sprache und Literatur* (1879).⁶ It was composed by an Englishman writing in 1396. Stengel⁷ believes the author to have been M. T. Coyfurelly, the writer of a *Tractatus Orthographie Gallicane*, preserved in the same Oxford MS which contains the *Maniere*. In the *Tractatus* Coyfurelly describes himself as "canonicus, *aurilianus* doctor utriusque juris."

The conversation in chapter five of the *Maniere* concerns itself with the beauties of French cities.⁸ The descriptions are commonplace and the details are meagre enough until the travelogue comes to deal with Orleans. What is said about Orleans in the *Maniere* I quote in part:

A Aurilians! Sainte Marie, c'est bien lois de cy, car c'est bien pres au bout de le monde, si come nen dit en ce pais icy.

Vraiment, sire, ils sont bien fols qui le cuident, car c'est ou mylieu du Roialme de France.

Est Aurilians une beau ville?

Oil, sire, si Dieu m'ait, le plus belle que soit ou roialme de France apres Paris. Et aussi il en y a une grande estude des loys, car les plus vaillanz et les plus gentilz clers qui sont ou cristiantee y repairent pour estudier en civil et canonn.

Mon tresdoulz amy, je vous encroy bien, mais toutes voies j'oy dire que l'anemy y apprent ses desciples de nigromancie en une teste.

⁶ Meyer did not publish the quotation from the *Maniere* made below, although it is recorded in the Harleian MS.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁸ An interesting anticipation of the travel dialogues commonly found in Elizabethan conversation manuals.

(Save vostre grace, beau sire, car vrayment ce ne'est)* pas voir.

Par Saint Jaques, toutes voies il y avoit jadyz¹⁰ un Englois qu'estoit fort nigromancien qui est a nom Colin T. qui savoit faire beaucoup des merveilles par voie de nigromancie.

From this reference the existence of an English magician, "a nom Colin T. [= Tregetour]," is established. Chaucer's mention of him among his group of famous magicians presents another illustration of the poet's "touch-and-go allusions to contemporary events"¹¹ and persons. Indeed, with considered intent he sets at the end of this name-list an actual modern instance according to a plan of arrangement which he seems to have employed in drawing up several other catalogues of names—the use of a loose historical order. I do not mean to suggest that Chaucer followed a hard-and-fast chronological sequence; his studie was but litel upon dates within narrow compasses; but many times in his lists he proceeds in an order that to him was ancient, medieval, and modern. At the end he frequently cites a modern, a contemporary, or a native example with an apparent realization of the effectiveness of the recent and local reference to suggest to his readers in a single realistic flash the meaning of a whole series of examples.

Notice, for example, the order in which the fifteen famous doctors are ranged in the "Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales* (ll. 431 ff.): Esculapius, Deiscorides, Rufus, Ypocras, Haly, Galien, Serapion, Razdis, Avicen, Averrois, Demascien, Constanyn, Bernard, Gatesden, Gilbertyn. From the mythological-classical group of the first five names (with a misplacing of the eleventh-century Haly) Chaucer goes to examples drawn from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, and concludes with the naming of three thirteenth-fourteenth century doctors, two of whom are Englishmen.¹² Again, in citing authorities on the question of predestination and free-will in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (ll. 421 ff.), Chaucer mentions in order (with a historical precedence for Augustine to which he is not

* The words within the parentheses are supplied by Stengel from the Harleian MS.

¹⁰ "At one time," "not long ago"—from the date of the *Maniere*, 1396. *The House of Fame* is about fifteen years earlier.

¹¹ Hotson, J. L., *op. cit.*, p. 781.

¹² Chaucer brings the catalogues in the *Roman de la Rose* (ll. 16161 ff.) and in Dante's *Inferno* (IV, 143) fairly well up-to-date and close to home. See Skeat, *op. cit.*, V, 41-42.

quite entitled) Augustine, Boethius—and Bishop Bradwardyn, a fourteenth century countryman of his. In the same tale (ll. 542 ff.) the weepers and wailers who had failed to cry so loud as did the wives of Chauntecleer are set down in fairly accurate historical order, and again at the end the significance of the whole list is brought home to contemporaries by a reference to the shouts of Jack Straw and his rabble in 1381. Another instance of the method may be found in the group of authorities in the *Maunciples Tale* (ll. 239 ff.) who uphold the wisdom of silence. In order these wise men are: Solomon, David, Seneca; and again the meaning is fixed at the close by the citation of a contemporary Flemish proverb. British Glasgerion (*House of Fame*, 1466 ff.) was not a man of Chaucer's time, but by comparison with the other two harpers in this list (Orion and Eacides Chiron) he stands as another example of Chaucer's practice of bringing his personal illustrations near enough home for their meaning to be clear to those more versed in recent than in ancient history.

The passage from the *Maniere* quoted above is of interest in another direction. It brings against the *desciples* at Orleans the charge of being addicted to the study of necromancy. The bearing of this reference upon certain details of the *Franklin's Tale* will immediately suggest itself to any one who has at all in memory the foolish pledge of Dorigen and the visit of Aurelius¹³ to Orleans to fetch the clerkly magician who brings her near to shame. That Chaucer was using realistic place detail in seeking his magician at Orleans has been pointed out.¹⁴ It is common knowledge that the city was a gathering place for astrologers in Chaucer's day.¹⁵ But it has been wondered whether

¹³ I hesitate to cut directly through the ingenious and elaborate investigations of Schofield (*PMLA*, xvi, 405 ff.) and of Rajna (*Romania*, xxxii, 204 ff.) into sources for the name of the gentle squire by making the simple conjecture that *Aurelius* may have been suggested by *Aurelians* or *Aurelianus*, but the possibility is too great easily to be overlooked.

¹⁴ Wedel, T. O., *The Medieval Attitude Toward Astrology*, Yale Studies in English, lx (1920), pp. 95 ff. See Tatlock, J. S. P., *The Scene of the Franklin's Tale Visited*, Chaucer Society Publications, Second Series, 51, pp. 41 ff. In a note on page 341 of "Astrology and Magic in the *Franklin's Tale*" (*Kittredge Anniversary Papers*), Tatlock points out that to Colle Tregetour are ascribed the magic illusions which Aurelius's brother had expected his friend at Orleans to produce.

¹⁵ The association of Orleans with magic in the reference to a marvelous

the University as well as the city at that time had the reputation of being a seat for the study of magic. Both Tatlock and Wedel, who ask the question, emphasize the fact that Chaucer gives evidence of a correct knowledge of the curriculum situation at the University of Orleans when he represents the fellow student from whom the brother of Aurelius first learned of magical studies as a "bachelor of lawe," for the University of Orleans was not only eminent as a law school, but there in the thirteenth century "no regular Faculty of Arts maintained its existence, nor any other Faculty except that of Law."¹⁶ The statement of the *Maniere* bears the same testimony; to Orleans, it says, repair "les plus vaillanz and les plus gentilx clers . . . pour estudier en civil et canon." ¹⁷ Though the students of law come merely to Orleans, it can scarcely be doubted that the University of Orleans is referred to here. And in like manner the University is referred to when one speaker in the imaginary conversation brings the charge that the students (*desciples*) have become addicted to the study of necromancy.

In the light of this contemporary and intimate evidence from the *Maniere*, it seems more than likely that when Chaucer put it into the mind of Aurelius's brother, himself a clerk, to remember that in his student days at Orleans his fellow students, "yonge clerkes," were "likerous to reden artes that been curious," and to proceed there to find aid and comfort for the lover of Dorigen, he was making use of knowledge or report he had of the actual conditions at the University of Orleans.

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cure "yn Orleunce" in *The Buggbears* (III, iii), and in "A Mery Geste of the Frere and the Boye" (Hazlitt's *Early Popular Poetry*, 1866, III, 79), Mr. Bond (*Early Plays from the Italian*, 1921, p. 287) attributes "to English memories of Joan of Arc." This explanation cuts off far too early the historical view. Indeed, the line in "A Mery Geste,"

He is a grete nygromancere

In all Orlyannc is not his pere,

is reminiscent of Chaucer's

In al the land of crowing nas his peer (*N. P. T.*, 30).

¹⁶ Both Tatlock and Wedel refer to Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, II, 136 ff. The quotation is from Rashdall.

¹⁷ The author of the *Maniere*, whether he be M. T. Coyfurelly, "canonicus, aurilianus doctor utiusque juris," or not, shows throughout the *Maniere* a familiarity with and affection for Orleans.

NOTES ON OLD HIGH GERMAN TEXTS

BY FRANCIS A. WOOD

1. TRIERER CAPITULARE

In line 11 of the above occurs the word *retliche*, which is emended in *Denkmäler* to *rehtliche*. The expression *urcundun retliche* translates the Latin *testes idoneos*, and should therefore not be changed. For *retliche* is a syncopated form of *redeliche*, which properly translates Lat. *idoneos*.

In line 29 occurs the phrase *ce theru müzzungu theru selveru samunungun*, translating *ad immunitatem ipsius ecclesiae*. In the vocabulary of Braune's *Ahd. Lb.* *müzzungu* is given doubtfully under *müzzunga* 'mutatio.' But the reference here is to the right of a church to hold property deeded to it with the same freedom or exemption from loss as any other heir would enjoy. The word is therefore *muozzunga* 'immunitas' (i. e. immunity from loss on account of the claims of a co-heir): *muozôn* 'freie Zeit haben,' *muoza* 'licentia, facultas, fas, otium,' *muozzan*, *muozan* 'Raum haben; die Gelegenheit, Freiheit, Veranlassung wozu haben; dürfen, mögen, können, müssen.' The word does not otherwise occur in OHG., and was probably coined for the occasion by the translator.

2. LIED VOM HEILIGEN GEORG

The last two lines of the MS read:

GoRio huob dhia· ahnt uhf erbibinota abollin Gebot er uher den ehtle unh
do fuer er sar enaburunt ihn nequeo Vuisolf

This is given in Kögel's text:

Gorio huob dhia hant uf, erbibinôta Abollinus,
Gebôt er uper den hellehunt: dô fuer er sâr en aberunt.

In my text (*Mod. Phil.* XII, 174 ff.) I write as above, except that *h* is retained in *hûf*, *huper*. I now believe that we should take some account of *ihn*, and write the lines:

Gorio huob dhia hant hûf, gebôt er huper den hellehunt:
Erbibinota Abollin, dô fuer er sâr en aberunt hîn.

RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI

BY G. A. HARBER

The *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, a kind of autobiography of the official career of the first emperor of Rome, has long been known from a copy, with a translation into Greek, preserved on the walls of a temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra (Angora), the capital of Roman Galatia in Asia Minor. A few years ago Sir W. M. Ramsay published nearly fifty fragments of another Latin copy¹ which had been set up at Antioch, a Roman colony of Augustus in Pisidia, a division of the province of Galatia. Now Professor David M. Robinson has edited Ramsay's fragments again and two hundred and fifteen additional fragments which he copied in the course of excavations conducted at Antioch with Ramsay's permission.²

This new text of the *Res Gestae* is of considerable importance; for one reason because it helps to fill some of the gaps in the Ancyran copy. The new readings are given in Robinson's paper. Here it is enough to note that Augustus's use of prepositions and connectives is emphasized, and that the word *auctoritate* is to be read in chapter 34 where *dignitate* formerly was supplied.³ Of this word, more later.

Robinson states it as his belief that the text of Antioch is not a copy of that at Ancyra because there are differences in the two documents,⁴ and yet he is bothered by a very definite likeness between them in the fact that his column IX begins with the self-same words found at the beginning of col. 6 at Ancyra, and that

¹ *Journal of Roman Studies*, VI (1916), 108-129.

² "The Deeds of Augustus as Recorded on the Monumentum Antiochenum," *American Journal of Philology*, XLVII, 1 (1926), pp. 1-54, with seven photographic facsimiles. These plates (some of them) are none too clear, especially as they reproduce on a small scale lettering which is not by any means large on the stone. Robinson acknowledges the assistance of Mr. E. E. Peterson in the preparation of the paper. I shall refer to this paper as *AJPh*.

³ A. v. Premerstein discovered the proper location in the text of Ramsay's fragment containing part of the word *auctoritate*, *Hermes*, 59 (1924), pp 95-107.

⁴ *AJPh*, pp. 22 and 49.

these words do not even begin a sentence, but belong to the second line of chapter 32. Robinson has not settled the question raised by the differences and the peculiar similarities between the two copies.

We have here essentially a problem in textual criticism. Its importance lies in the significance of the *Res Gestae*—a document unique in Roman history, from the hand of Augustus himself. Obviously, if the text at Antioch is a copy from the stone at Ancyra, its readings are useful only where the Ancyran text is lost; but if it is not a copy, all its readings are valuable for the purpose of getting closer to what Augustus actually wrote.

It will be convenient to make a list of the possible relationships between the two copies. (a) Ant.⁵ is a copy of Anc. (b) Anc. is a copy of Ant. (c) Both are copied directly from a manuscript sent to Ancyra from Rome, or from copies of that manuscript prepared at Ancyra for the use of various cities of the province. (d) Both are similarly derived from a manuscript sent to Antioch. (e) Each is a copy of a separate manuscript sent directly from Rome to Ancyra and to Antioch respectively. Later the question of their archetype at Rome will be considered.

What is the evidence? In all, four copies of the *Res Gestae* are known, the two Latin copies at Ancyra and at Antioch, a Greek translation on the walls of the same temple which has preserved the Latin copy at Ancyra, and a second Greek copy at Apollonia of Pisidia in Galatia. The copies, then, are all confined to the province of Galatia. It is a rather remarkable fact that among the many thousands of inscriptions found the Roman Empire over no trace of the *Res Gestae* has been discovered save in these three Galatian cities. Augustus, we know, directed that the *Res Gestae* be set up before his tomb at Rome.⁶ From the contents Dessau⁷ is of the opinion that Augustus intended the account only for Rome, and not for the provincials. Certainly there are many details of merely local importance. Dessau, then, would attribute the making of the copies in Galatia to the personal devotion of a Roman governor. The explanation is very reasonable, though it

⁵ Ant. for the inscription at Antioch; Anc. for the inscription at Ancyra.

⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 101.

⁷ H. Dessau, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1924, I, 484 and 585.

may not be conclusive. This argument however looks toward Ancyra, the capital, as the immediate source of all the known copies. And, whether we posit a devoted governor or not, it would seem natural for the different cities to get their copies from the provincial capital. Again, the copies at Ancyra, Greek and Latin, are on the walls of the shrine of the provincial *koinon*, that is, a religious center of the province. What more natural than to find other cities obtaining copies from their central shrine?

The internal evidence from textual readings must now be considered. First, that of the Greek translations. The Greek copy at Ancyra is rather complete, and it has long been recognized as distinctly a translation with a Roman and Latin flavor.⁸ Whether this translation was prepared at Rome or in the province has not been determined. It is fairly literal, following often the word order of the Latin; but in chapter 17 the adverb *ἐω[έπειτα]*, which there means "from that time on" or "for the future," is not found in a corresponding Latin word. It may be an indication that the stone-cutter of the Latin text omitted a word which was given in the manuscript he used. In that case the Greek translation could not have been made from the Latin as it is on the stone at Ancyra. But this is conjecture, and the evidence to follow it up is slight. The copy at Apollonia is fragmentary, yet from five different sections of the document parts of some thirty-four lines, which are considerably longer than the lines at Ancyra, have been preserved.⁹ They show a word for word correspondence with the Ancyran copy, and so leave no room for doubt that the translations are one. Moreover in both texts an essential word *ναόν* which translates *templum*, is omitted in 11, 21, 10, though there follows after the next word *ἀγοράν* an enclitic connective *τε*, which seems to presuppose *ναόν*. This omission is hardly due to the translator's manuscript. It proves a very close relation between the Greek copies. But in 3, 6, 14 of the Ancyran inscription *τῶν* is read, while at Apollonia *τοῦ* is found, and editors prefer the latter reading.¹⁰ And in the Ancyran text 6, 10, 5 *ιστόρησεν* has been abbreviated by leav-

⁸ E. Diehl, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Bonn, 1918, p. 5 and note.

⁹ Mommsen's edition of the *Res Gestae*, Berlin, 1883; Domaszewski, *Philologus*, 70 (1911), 569-70.

¹⁰ See Diehl, *loc. cit.*, and Cagnat, *I. G. R.*, III, 159, p. 69, *loc. cit.*

ing off the last two letters, while it is given in full at Apollonia. In 11, 21, 13 Ancyra has ἐπὶ ὀνόματος, but at Apollonia the dative ὀνόματι is given. Editors prefer the Ancyran reading for the Latin *sub nomine*. Elsewhere in the document the dative appears in Greek to correspond to the Latin ablative, where no preposition is used in either. We may then conclude that the significant omission of *νὰν* from both texts proves the Ancyran origin of the copy of Apollonia, for obviously the Ancyran inscription would not be derived from the Apollonian. The differences in readings may indicate that the Apollonian copy was not made from the stone at Ancyra, but from a manuscript, from which also the Ancyran copy was derived.

No Latin text has been found at Apollonia. No trace of a Greek text has been found at Antioch among all the numerous Latin fragments, and from this fact Robinson ¹¹ concludes that a Greek translation was not set up. From these facts and from the general considerations advanced above in this paper it seems quite safe to exclude Antioch as the immediate source of the known copies. It remains that the inscription at Antioch is derived from the stone or from a manuscript at Ancyra, or that both Latin inscriptions are derived independently from Rome.

If a decision on the point is possible, it must depend primarily upon a study of the readings of the two inscriptions, though comparisons of the arrangement of the texts and even of the styles of letterings may be helpful. One would theoretically expect to find the texts very similar, even though neither inscription were a copy of the other, for they both were assuredly made within a very few years of the time of Augustus's death, when their original at Rome must have been quite complete and quite legible. This is not a case of copying from an age-old manuscript whose text may scarcely be legible. And striking likenesses are found. For example, the spelling *fuere* is given in Anc. I, 4, 27, and in Ant., yet this short form of the perfect is apparently used in no other instance of any verb in either text. *Clausum* appears in Anc. II, 13, 44 and in Ant., though Anc. has *claussum* just two lines above, where the text of Ant. is unfortunately lost. In Anc. III, 15, 21 and in Ant. the spelling is *paullo*. The abbreviation *Tib.* is given in Anc. II, 8, 9,

¹¹ *AJPk.*, p. 2.

and in Ant., though elsewhere in the texts. (Ant. has only one other instance) the spelling is *Ti*. In Anc. III, 15, 15 and in Ant. the text reads *consul XII*; and a similar case, *consul XIII*, is found in chapter 22 in both documents, but nowhere else in a number of passages, where the consular number is regularly spelled out in full. There are other correspondences, but none, I think, more striking than these. There are no apparent and peculiar errors or omissions in both texts, such as might indicate that one document was copied from the other. These textual likenesses, striking as they may be, can not prove copying, and may well have come from a common source, or even from the original at Rome.

In a number of passages there are different readings. Anc. IV, 21, 22 gives *ad aede* for which Ant. has *ad aedem*. Anc. III, 16, 27 has *ad memoriam* for which Ant. has *ad memoria*, plainly in error. But no such differences as these can demonstrate the relationship of the texts, and therefore other somewhat similar instances are not here mentioned. Only differences apparently significant will now be pointed out. Anc. II, 9, 17 gives *collegia*, while the corresponding passage in Ant. gives *conlegia*. In the one other passage in which the word appears in both, both have *conlegio* (chapter 22). The reading of Anc. 9 may be a slip. That of Ant., *conlegia*, was obviously not copied from Anc., and it is surely unlikely that the stone-cutter would use by mistake an older spelling if he had *collegia* before him. In both documents there is a tendency, which is not consistently kept, to separate a prepositional compound from its verb, a practice found but seldom in Latin inscriptions, for normally such words were, of course, written as one. Anc. IV, 20, 13 gives *profligata*, while Ant. gives *pro.fligata*.¹² It does not seem likely that the stone-cutter at Antioch would have made this strange separation if his copy had not shown it. In the same chapter both show *praeter.misso*. The readings above seem to indicate some independence in the document at Antioch, but can not be in themselves conclusive.

In dating, the consuls are often given in the usual ablative phrase. Of a total of some fifteen instances in Anc. about six are

¹² Robinson, *AJPh.*, p. 45, says that the simple preposition (where not used in a compound) does not occur in Ant. separated by a punctuation mark from the word it governs. It is found, however, in Ant. I, 1, 9, and there are other instances.

in the common abbreviated form *cos.*¹⁸ In II, 8, 9 by the use of *cos.* at the end of the line the stone-cutter avoided dividing the word *consulibus*. In no other instance appears any good reason for a choice of the abbreviation. The word appears in the ablative in Ant. some ten times where the reading is sure, or reasonably so; and of these, three are probably in the abbreviated form. Apparently no requirements of space play a part in these abbreviations; but they correspond to abbreviations in Anc., that is to say, no abbreviations appear in Ant. where the full form is given in Anc. In one instance Ant. v, 16, 10 gives the word in full (as does Anc.) and to do so has to divide it, putting *consu* at the end of one line and *libus* at the beginning of the next. The abbreviated form would have nicely ended the expression of the date and the line. This appears to be a rather careful following of the copy. More significant is the fact that in the same chapter Ant. v, 16, 17 gives *consulibus* in full, where Anc. III, 16, 29 has the abbreviation *cos.* Again in the next chapter Ant. v, 17, 24 has the full form where Anc. III, 17, 36 has the abbreviated. These two cases go far to prove that the inscription at Antioch was not made from a copy of the stone at Ancyra. Would a stone-cutter expand the old and very common short abbreviation *cos.* into the much longer *consulibus*? Abbreviation is the rule in Roman inscriptions.

Similar to this apparently arbitrary use of the abbreviated and full forms of *consulibus* is the mixed use of *sestertium* in full and the sign for it, *HS*. Anc. chapter 15 has the sign three times; chapter 16 has the word spelled out twice; chapter 17 has one of each; chapter 21 has the sign. Ant. has preserved five instances that are sure or probable. In not one is the sign used. Twice, in chapters 17 and 21, the word is spelled out where in Anc. the sign is used. The sign is so common in inscriptions and so convenient for use that it is scarcely conceivable that the stone-cutter would have used the full form of the word if he had the sign in his copy. From these several words and forms the evidence derived seems adequate for the conclusion that the inscription at Antioch was not made from a copy of the stone at Ancyra.

¹⁸ In a few instances the word is supplied by editors where the stone is broken. *Consul* in singular and plural appears quite often in the nominative, and is not then abbreviated.

Other matters in the cutting of these inscriptions call for notice and explanation. I have already pointed out that in both prepositional compounds are spaced at times. Tall letters, especially *T* and *L* occur, while *I* is also tall at times to denote long *I*. Both documents use accents over long vowels, even in the headings; but, as Ramsay and Robinson have said, the use is not consistently the same in both. I think, however, that a closer likeness might appear if both texts were not so chipped and broken as they are. The Ancyran text in particular is badly weathered, and, since the accents were not cut as deeply as the letters, at times words can be read well enough whose accents may have been obliterated. For example, in chapter 19 Mommsen's edition and Diehl's put an accent over the *u* in *Iunonis*, while Ant. shows one clearly over the *o*. An examination of the word in Mommsen's facsimile might lead one to conclude that the mark over the *u* there is accidental, and to imagine at least traces of an accent over *o*.

In both the heading is cut in the style *Scriptura Monumentalis*, but with influence of the *Scriptura Actuaria*, seen especially in the *M*, and in the *A*, particularly in Anc. Also in the heading both disregard the joints of the stones, cutting letters right across them. The text in both is in the *Scriptura Actuaria*, with the letters in Anc. considerably larger and on the whole somewhat more regular, especially since parts of Ant. toward the end seem to have been carelessly, perhaps hastily, cut.¹⁴ *A* in Anc. tends to decoration a bit more than in Ant. Perhaps the lower lobe of *B* tends to be a shade more narrow in Anc. *E* is narrow and rather careless in both. *G* is in the capital and the *actuaria* form, the latter apparently more often used in Ant. *R* has a curved tail in both, and the lobe is sometimes open and sometimes closed. At the beginnings of lines and especially of chapters there is a tendency to use a larger letter and to make it a bit fancy. In both texts appears an unusual *D*, in which at the top a stroke overlaps the upright and extends far to the left, while the latter is quite normal at the bottom.¹⁵ *V* appears with a long flourish of the left stroke.¹⁶ The letterings of these texts seem more like each other than like any facsimile in the well known plates published by Diehl,

¹⁴ *AJPh.*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁵ Mommsen's facsimile, pagina v; Robinson's paper, plate II.

¹⁶ Mommsen, pagina iv, and v; Robinson's paper, plate II.

Bruns, and Cagnat. Surely there were the same and explicit directions for styles and forms of letters given in the documents which the stone-cutters used. It is even possible that the same stone-cutters were employed at both places. In such case the slight differences noted in the cutting would be accounted for by the presumably more careless work at Antioch, and by the fact that the larger size used at Ancyra permitted, and perhaps called for, more careful cutting, and allowed more ornamentation. At both places certainly the cutting shows the work of men experienced in the art of Roman lettering.

Correspondences in the arrangement of the texts in the two copies are still more striking. At Ancyra, as is well known, the text is divided into two parts, three columns, with the heading running across the top of all of them, to the left of the entrance to the shrine, and three, to the right. The heading tells us that at Rome the *Res Gestae* was cut on two bronze pillars, and Suetonius¹⁷ speaks of bronze tables set up before the Mausoleum of Augustus. Certainly the Ancyran inscription was made from a copy of the inscription as set up at Rome—the heading so states.¹⁸ It has therefore been assumed, and with reason, that the arrangement on the stones at Ancyra imitated in general that on the bronzes at Rome.¹⁹ Kornemann points out that in the columns to the left are eighteen chapters, that is just over half, of the thirty-five, and that the section to the right begins with the first line of a chapter. He has noted, too, that to the left there are 135 lines of the text, and to the right, 136, omitting the summary, and that these lines are grouped in the columns to the left, 46: 46: 43, and

¹⁷ *Augustus*, 101, 4.

¹⁸ The special attention paid in the heading to the facts that the tablets were two at Rome and were bronze, while, we know, at Ancyra the text is on two separate wall spaces, but of stone, seems to show a provincial point of view. See also below, p. 395. The fact that the Ancyran and Antioch inscriptions are evidently derived from the bronzes at Rome might be an indication that the central government did not send out copies to be used in the provinces, for it would scarcely need to have copies made from the bronzes. If anyone, however, sent from a province to Rome for a copy, he would naturally order it to be made from the inscription on the tomb; that would probably be the only way to secure it.

¹⁹ F. W. Shipley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (in Loeb series, 1924), p. 333; E. Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus*, 1921, p. 15.

to the right, 54: 54: 28. He thinks this a very awkward arrangement of the columns and assumes a division on the tables at Rome of 45: 45: 45, and 46: 45: 45, respectively. He assumes also that the summary was omitted at Rome, evidently assumes that the lines were individually identical at Rome and Ancyra, and finally assumes with Klaeyle that the first column left was made equal to the first on the right in number of lines by having over it the heading, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. This last assumption is a poor one for two reasons; first, in Roman inscriptions a heading is regularly in much larger lettering, which would cause his first column to appear longer than the second; again, in Roman inscriptions headings regularly run over several columns, if the inscription is cut in columns, and two or three columns on bronze or stone form a favorite grouping,²⁰ as is the arrangement at Ancyra. Further, Kornemann's grouping for the original at Rome would throw quite into confusion a certain symmetry to be seen in the Ancyran text: columns 1 and 2 on the left start each with the first line of a chapter, column 3 does not; columns 4 and 5 (they are the 1st and 2nd on the right) start each with the first line of a chapter, column 6 does not. Also, column 3, the last on the left, has 43 lines, and column 6, the last on the right, has exactly that number, if we include the summary.

That summary has been rather unanimously²¹ assigned to some provincial Greek at Ancyra, since Mommsen so decided, because it was poorly written, reckoned money by denarii, and referred to provincial cities. Of course it was not written by Augustus, as it is in the third person, but aside from that no compelling reason has been advanced for its provincial origin. Reckoning by denarii is to be found in the main document, though that by sesterces prevails. As for the reference to provincial cities, that is one short expression with no city named, while most of the summary concerns itself with a mention of buildings at Rome and expenditures for entertainments and for gifts to Roman senators, friends, the plebs, and the army—topics not obviously of special interest to

²⁰ Bruns, *Simulacra*, pl. x, 12; xxi, 23; Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, 20 and 28.

²¹ Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy*, p. 275; W. Fairley, *The Deeds of Augustus*, p. 9; Shipley, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

provincials. Hardy²² calls attention to the fact that it would have been rather difficult for a person away in a province to get at some of the items of information given in the summary. Assuredly the summary may have originated at Rome and may have appeared on the bronze tables.

Now column 5 at Ancyra, as column 2, ends with the first line of a chapter, causing the following column to begin somewhat awkwardly with the second line of the chapter. The apparent purpose of the arrangement in each case is to make the column so ending agree exactly in the number of lines with the preceding column and to make the last column to the left and the last to the right equal to each other. Obviously the whole arrangement at Ancyra is the result of a very careful and skilful study of the text to be cut and is not at all awkward as Kornemann would have it.

We may now come to a study of the arrangement of the text at Antioch. Strangely enough, though by Robinson's study there seems to have been a division into nine columns, column 8 ends exactly as does Anc. column 5, and so, of course, column 9 agrees exactly to the word in the beginning and almost exactly in the number of lines with Anc. column 6. Robinson²³ is troubled by this, since he has the idea that Ant. was not copied from Anc., but he has no explanation to offer. He thinks it an awkward division of the chapter, and it is very awkward if his arrangement of columns in plate VII B is approximately correct, for column 9 is separated by the width of an archway from column 8. It is much less awkward at Ancyra; and, if the Ancyran arrangement is that of the original bronze tables, it would have been even less awkward at Rome, as the two columns would have been on the same table. In facsimiles of bronze tables still existing, to which reference has been made, rather untidy runnings-over from one column to another are not at all uncommon.

Robinson has not seen the significance of another correspondence. Anc. column 3 ends with the end of chapter 18, just as Ant. column 5. This of course makes the beginning of Anc. column 4 the selfsame as the beginning of Ant. column 6. It is an important agreement, for Anc. column 4 is the first column of the section

²² E. G. Hardy, *The Monumentum Ancyranum*, pp. 163-164.

²³ *AJPh.*, p. 49.

of the document to the right. If Robinson's idea of the placing of the columns at Antioch is correct, columns 5 and 6 there were in a prominent position.²⁴ Naturally column 1 in both starts the texts. It is then clear that important divisions at Ancyra find corresponding divisions at Antioch.

There are other likenesses found in chapters beginning with lines of the same length, with exactly the same words and even the same letters, where words are divided at the ends of lines. Chapters 11, 17, 18, 22, 32, 34, and 35 agree in their first lines, Robinson's textual arrangement being accepted. Chapters 24 and 25 all but coincide in their first lines. Gaps in the text prevent a decision about some other chapters. I have an idea that the first line of Ant. column 6, chapter 19 may have exactly agreed with Anc. column 4, chapter 19, though Robinson's text does not give it so. Other correspondences were probably prevented by the different limitations of space at Antioch, as, for example, the heading is over only two columns instead of three as at Ancyra, and the text of these columns is considerably shorter to the line.

These corresponding arrangements in columns and lines are, of course, not by chance.²⁵ An absolutely certain explanation is not possible. They do not come into the document at Antioch from a direct copying of the stone at Ancyra, as the textual study showed. Do they come as a result of the directions in separate manuscripts sent to each city from Rome? That is possible, and in that case we must have at Ancyra a very close copy of the bronzes at Rome, and at Antioch a copy made as nearly like the Roman as the spaces available would permit. But for general reasons given in the first part of this paper it seems most probable that one copy was sent out from Rome to Ancyra. If this is so, both the significant differences in the two texts and the remarkable likenesses in the arrangements of the documents on the stones may properly be explained. The text from Rome, or a workman's copy of it, was used by the stone-cutter at Ancyra. The same text from Rome, or a copy of it, was used at Antioch. And in the copy made for Antioch a description of the set-up of the text on the Ancyran

²⁴ *AJPh.*, pp. 23 and 44.

²⁵ There may be other lines the same in both, but I have not looked for them throughout. It seems that not much effort was made to get lines exactly the same after the first lines, but see line 2 of chapter 32.

shrine was made. Or there was put in the copy for Antioch the directions for setting up the text which had been sent from Rome. Scholars seem to be agreed, as has been said, that there is some similarity between the arrangement at Ancyra and the original at Rome, which means that directions for the arrangement were sent with the manuscript from Rome, or that the manuscript itself was copied exactly line for line from the bronzes before Augustus's tomb. I think the similarities in arrangement of the two existing copies due to the manuscript that came from Rome. It does not seem probable that at Antioch, where they did not cut the inscription on the walls of a temple, and where they could not keep to the simple division into two sections of three columns each which is seen at Ancyra, the people in charge would have cared in any way to imitate the Ancyran disposition. They might feel an urge to approximate the arrangement of the original at Rome as closely as they could.

It is now possible to suggest a simple family-tree for our existing texts. The autograph of the *Res Gestae* is lost. The archetype was the copy on the bronzes at Rome. Of it a copy was made and sent to Ancyra, where a copy was made for the stone-cutters, and its copy is on the stones today. Another copy of the manuscript sent to Ancyra was prepared for use at Antioch, and, thanks to Ramsay and Robinson, the copy of it on stone is now known.

The copies on stone are, then, possibly three steps removed from the bronzes at Rome. But by a comparison of their readings we may arrive at a text only one remove from the inscription before Augustus's tomb, though we must remember that the Ancyran stone is not complete and that the text from Antioch is in fragments.

Statements in Cicero, Quintilian, and others make it clear that Roman authors were afraid of errors even in their first editions.²² Readings in our copies of the *Res Gestae* fully bear them out. Reference has been made to irregularities in the use of accents, the spacing of words compounded with prepositions, the long *I*, and the fairly frequent appearance of tall letters. At times paragraphing signs appear within chapters, or spaces are left to mark a division. The same elements doubtless appeared on the original

²² Cicero, *Ad Q. F.*, III, 5, 6; Quintilian's preface. Other interesting references are given by H. W. Johnston, *Latin Manuscripts*, pp. 32-33.

at Rome, and perhaps more consistently. In both copies the division into chapters is the same, and is made by the regular Roman method of slightly extending the first line of a chapter into the left margin of the column. We may be confident that we have precisely the original chapter-units.

Neither copy seems to have made any errors of omissions of words. There are differences in spellings and a few in word-order. Some of these have been given above. Others, though often slight, still help to restore the text of the original, and some have a bearing on theories that have been advanced on the basis of supposed variations of spelling in the inscription at Rome. Some of the noteworthy agreements will at least show readings of the Ancyran manuscript, supposedly a direct copy of the original.

Fuere (4, 27) in both, and only here with this short ending, is of the Ancyran manuscript.²⁷ A numeral in letters (4, 27) in both, not spelled out as usual, is of Anc. MS. Similarly (15, 15) *consul XII* appears in both, and *consul XIII* (22, 38). A few similar instances can be found. *Colonis*, so spelled in the ablative plural for *colonies*, appears (15, 19) and (21, 30) in both, and the readings of Anc. are confirmed. *Sexagenos*, correct in Anc. (15, 20), seems to be by error *sexagnos* in Ant. *Paullo* (15, 21) is so spelled in both, and therefore was in the Anc. MS. *Ad memoriam* (16, 27) is by error *ad memoria* in Ant. *Stipendis* (16, 31), ablative plural, is the spelling of both. *Praerant* (17, 35) seems to be in Ant. *prarant*, by error. A noticeable agreement in accents appears (19, 7) in the phrase *summá sacrá viá*. *Ad aede* (21, 22) is given *ad aedem* in Ant. and correctly. Robinson has noted that it has been taken to be an old ablative.²⁸ *Quotiescumque* is given by Ant. for *quotienscumque* (21, 28). Ant. is here in error, for regularly the inscriptions agree in using the *n* in the endings of the numeral adverb; e. g., *milliens* (16, 24). Anc. (22, 31) gives *quinqvens*, which is given correctly *quinqviens* in Ant. The spelling *spectaculum* is sure in Ant., where editors have supplied *spectaclum* in Anc. (22, 34). They have done this because *spectaclum* appears in Anc. (23, 43), where the reading of Ant. is unfortu-

²⁷ The references are to chapter and column line of Mommsen's text. Ancyran manuscript is abbreviated Anc. MS.

²⁸ *AJPh.*, p. 43.

nately lost.²⁰ Sandys²⁰ calls attention to the spelling *saeclares* of Anc. (22, 37), and this is also the spelling of Ant. *Saeculares* is already found in the famous inscription which records the great celebration of Augustus's reign,²¹ and again in an inscription set up for a similar occasion in the time of Claudius.²² The omission of the *u*, making the "harder" spelling for the period, being found in both copies, may well go back to the original. Perhaps the same should be said of *spectaculum*. Ant. incorrectly has *ciciter* where Anc. (25, 42) has *circiter*. Anc. (26, 11) has *provincias* by error where Ant. has *provincias*. The inscriptions agree on *reciperavi* (27, 34), which must have been in Anc. MS. The inscriptions agree on the phrase *ex S. C.* (35, 27). They have *Senatus consulto* (34, 16). They both in all probability have *ex Senatus consulto* (4, 27). In chapter 10 Ant. seems to have the full form, but a great gap makes the reading of Anc. uncertain. Anc. (12, 34) may have had *Senatus consulto*. This is lost in both inscriptions, and it is not clear that Robinson is correct in abbreviating the form to *S. C.* in Ant.²³

The editors in Anc. (20, 17) have supplied *ex decreto* before the existing *Senatus*. Robinson's text for Ant. shows that the expression was *ex auctoritate*. Mommsen's text states that there is room for twelve letters in the gap. Evidently this is an error, and in fact the very line above in the facsimile of Anc. shows that more letters could have been used. The reference gives a needed warning that an exact letter count made where a gap is of some extent is not to be depended upon when calculating the possible number of words to supply.

The readings *collegia* and *conlegia* were considered above. *Conlegia* seems to be the reading of the Anc. MS. Kornemann's argument, based on varying spellings in Anc., is apparently invalid,

²⁰ Robinson, in the text and in the commentary, p. 44, thinks that only *spectaculu* was ever cut at Antioch (chapter 22); but his facsimile (plate IV, col. VI) shows the final V cut in two, so to speak, by the edge of the stone, and clearly indicates that the word ran over on to another stone. This fact may affect Robinson's grouping of his columns on the pedestals.

²⁰ *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 270, n. 2.

²¹ *CIL.*, VI, 32323, lines 25 and 52.

²² *CIL.*, VI, 32324, at least twice.

²³ *AJPh.*, pp. 36-37.

and the Antioch copy here shows the danger of deductions which may have a very insecure foundation in textual errors.³⁴ *Conlega* was surely the spelling of the Ancyran MS. regularly, yet the reading is *collega* (22, 37) in both, and so was in the MS., I think by error; but Kornemann³⁵ may press his argument on this reading, if he likes.

The spellings *claussum* and *clausum* were mentioned earlier in this paper. Sandys³⁶ quotes by analogy *caussa* (14, 3), which is lost in Ant. Perhaps we might mention the spelling *paullo* again, and the many and regular appearances of the spelling *millia*. Doubtless *clausum* (13, 44) was in the Ancyran MS.; but I incline to double the consonant for the original.

In Ant. *sestertium* is always spelled out, while Anc. has *HS* at times, as we have seen. It seems clear that the original spelled the word in full. If so, again Kornemann's detailed proofs³⁷ for his several successive stages of composition evaporate. The same statement may be made with reference to the abbreviation *cos.* and the full form *consulibus*. It has been shown that Ant. either agrees with Anc. in the full form and in the *cos.*, or gives the full form when Anc. has the abbreviation.

There are three sure cases of transposition, none of them important for meaning. In the heading Anc. has *quae sunt Romae positae*, while Ant. has *quae sunt positae Romae*. In chapters 34 and 35 the expressions *fixa est*, *positus* and *positae sunt* end their clauses, and so favor the Ancyran order. However the Greek in the heading puts 'Ρώμης at the end of the clause, agreeing with Ant. In Military Diplomas from as early as 52 A. D. a corresponding order is regularly found: *tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in Capitolio*, etc. A preference seems difficult. The words are of course not by Augustus. In fact the indefinite *Romae*, with omission of the location before the tomb, seems to indicate a provincial point of view. At a distance of more than a thousand miles *Romae* probably seemed definite enough. It is possible, too, that the provincials would not care to call attention to the death and burial-place of the Deified.

³⁴ *AJP*, p. 34, n. 24.

³⁵ Kornemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25, and 76.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 265, n. 8, and 275, n. 5.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 25 and 79.

³⁸ *CIL.*, III, p. 844, no. 1 ff.

Anc. (20, 11) has *aquam quae Marcia appellatur*, while Ant. has *aquam quae appellatur Marcia*. The Greek translation favors the order in Ant. A parallel passage (26, 19/20), lost in Ant., reads *Arabiam quae appellatur Eudaemon*; but the Greek for this is not in the same order. Ant. and Anc. (21, 28/29) have *quotienscumque Imperator appellatus sum*, the Greek giving the same order; both (34, 16) read *Augustus appellatus sum*, the Greek giving the same; the order (35, 25) very probably was *appellavit me patrem patriae*, which is the order of the Greek. It is, then, difficult to determine the order of the original for the passage in question; but possibly the weight of the evidence inclines toward the reading of Ant.³⁹ An insignificant transposition of letters occurs where Ant. has *inchoavi*, and Anc. (20, 15/16), *incohavi*.

Puzzling readings in Anc. which are lost in Ant. are not here considered; for example, the appearance in chapter 15 of the ablative and then the genitive in successive uses of the phrase *tribunicia potestas*. For new readings in Ant. which are lost in Anc., Robinson's paper should be consulted.

To one new reading I should like to refer, and the most significant in all the document, *auctoritate*. Editors have been regularly following Mommsen's reading (34, 21): *Post id tempus dignitate praestiti omnibus*. Von Premerstein, as stated above, correctly interpreted a fragment of the text found at Antioch by Ramsay, and read *auctoritate* for *dignitate*. Robinson's discovery of other fragments has made assurance doubly sure.⁴⁰ R. Heinze⁴¹ has already written exhaustively on the new reading, and perhaps Ehrenberg also, but I have not seen his paper.⁴² The *auctoritas* is doubtless to be associated with the qualities *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*, which are mentioned by Augustus just above in the

³⁹ Robinson, p. 42, gives another parallel from Frontinus, but does not cite the passages from the *Res Gestae*. I may here add that in Ant. ix, 34, 21 the left part of the cross stroke of *T* in *tempus* appears in the facsimile, but not in Robinson's text; and in Ant. ix, 35, 25 the top of *ID* appears and should be given in the existing text of Ant.

⁴⁰ *AJPh.*, p. 50, and text, p. 19.

⁴¹ *Hermes*, 60 (1925), pp. 348-366.

⁴² Robinson, p. 50, refers to Ehrenberg's paper. Since my paper has been in the printer's hands I have read Ehrenberg's study, and find that he has anticipated my association of *Augustus* with *auctoritas*; but he has not used the references I regard as most significant.

same chapter. And is not the honorable title *Augustus* itself associated in the same chapter, and by the emperor himself with these qualities, and with *auctoritas*? Suetonius⁴³ tells us that there was a plan to give the emperor the name *Romulus*, as a founder (*conditor*) of the state, but that *Augustus* was considered a still more honorable title, and he associates this title with *augurium* and with *augeo*, as does Ovid. Florus has about the same statement as Suetonius, thinking the new name suitable to one who *colit terras*.⁴⁴ But to my mind a more significant statement is to be found in an edict of Augustus from which Suetonius quotes, not in connection with the name *Augustus*, but regarding his control of the government. Augustus, speaking of the state and his hopes for its continuance, says: *ut optimi status auctor dicar*.⁴⁵ This remark and the close association of *Augustus* and *auctoritas* in *Res Gestae* 34 seem to indicate that *auctoritas* was thought to be an element in the meaning of Augustus.⁴⁶ Perhaps there is more than a chance analogy in the pairs of words: *imperium*—*Imperator*; *principatus*—*Princeps*; *auctoritas*—*Augustus*.

University of North Carolina.

⁴³ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 7.

⁴⁴ For a convenient collection of the evidence from the writers cited above see Schuckburgh's edition of Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, pp. 13-14. See also Lily Ross Taylor, *Livy and the Name Augustus*, in *C. R.*, 32 (1918), pp. 158-161; and Dessau, *op. cit.*, p. 35 ff.

⁴⁵ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 28. Horace, *Odes*, I, 2, line 32 ff. speaks of *Augur Apollo*, and of Mars as *auctor*, in association with Octavian, who was then not yet Augustus.

⁴⁶ It is of some interest to find that in the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani*, paragraph 3, the emperor may call the Senate in session *ex voluntate auctoritateve iussu mandatuve eius*, and that, in a kind of blanket endorsement to do anything that he judges of benefit to the state and the people, Vespasian is given *ius potestasque ita ut Divo Augusto . . . fuit*. It would seem that there is in this law, too, a distinction between *auctoritas* and *potestas*, as there assuredly is in the *Res Gestae*.

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Volume XXIII

OCTOBER, 1926

Number 4

Studies in Philology

Edited by JAMES F. ROYSTER

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Studies in Philology

Volume XXIII

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MILTON AND HOBBS.¹

BY MARJORIE H. NICOLSON.

I.

No man in the history of thought has been more magnificently justified by his enemies than Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury. It would seem enough for one individual that he should have been the founder of a politics, an ethics, and a psychology, all of which merit the adjective "modern"; yet Hobbes was even greater in his foes than in his followers. During the century after the publication of his first work, there was no philosopher of moment who did not, to some extent, take his departure from him. Known to his generation as the Arch-Enemy, the Arch-Heretic, the Atheist, he became, even during his life, a legend, so that when he died at the age of ninety-one (he was forty when Bacon died, and was but then entering on his philosophical work, yet he was still writing when Bacon had been in his grave for fifty years) ballad broadsides advertised the event, declaring:

Here lies Tom Hobbes, the Bugbear of the Nation,
Whose death hath frightened Atheism out of fashion!

¹ The present paper is one of a series in which the author attempts to suggest Milton's intellectual relationship with various seventeenth-century philosophers. The first, "The Spirit World of Milton and More" appeared in *Studies in Philology* for October, 1925; "Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*" is forthcoming in the *Philological Quarterly*; a sequel to the present paper will attempt to suggest certain significant ways in which Milton fails to carry his premises to the conclusions of the English Platonists.

and uttering an epitaph succinct, though far from justified by the event of fame:

Here Matter lies—and there's an end of Hobbes! *

To his generation, the philosophy of Hobbes seemed to lead in a two-fold direction. It was, on the one hand, radical, the climax of Renaissance naturalism and of the method of the natural sciences; it was, on the other hand, reactionary, a reversion to an authoritarianism more limited and more dangerous than that of any mediaeval power. The first aspect his generation found in the frank egoism of Hobbes's system, which declared that the fundamental instinct of man is self-preservation, and drew up a consequent view of a "society"—originally *bellum omnium contra omnes*—artificially founded by self-seeking men for their own preservation and for the furtherance of their own selfish interests. This side of Hobbes's philosophy was his inheritance from predecessors, most of all from Machiavelli's anti-Aristotelian separation of ethics and politics, and his attempt to ground political procedure upon an acceptance of man, not as he ought to be, but as he is; and from the anti-Stoical naturalism of the Renaissance, with its stress upon man as a creature of passion and instinct rather than reason. The second aspect of Hobbes's system his generation found in the arbitrary character of his morality. Radical through his method was, his attempt here was little more than a return to political and ethical authoritarianism. Starting from a limited view of human nature, Hobbes could find no inner principle in man or in society; the only possible check was external law, with its foundation in external authority. It followed that there was to him no fundamental and eternal principle of morality, no unchanging right and wrong in a universe constituted as was his universe; his right and wrong could be based only upon the arbitrary edict of supreme power.

From the point of view of the modern historian of ideas, there is little in the *theories*—though much in the *method*—of Hobbes that was strikingly original; and, indeed, it is doubtful whether originality would have produced such a profound reaction. To the orthodox idealists of his day, Hobbes was expressing the climax

* Cf. George Croom Robertson, *Hobbes*, Edinburgh, 1886, p. 207.

of all that was unendurable; none of his adversaries treat his doctrines as "new"; they are to them the revival of ancient heresies, of the beliefs of Protagoras, Democritus, Epicurus, Carneades, Lucretius.³ The multitudes of replies are not ejaculations of men caught off-guard by novelty, but studied and profound marshallings of argument and learning by men whose fundamental opinions had stood firm against frequent attacks, less brilliant though not less real than this. Yet there is no question that Hobbes was to all his opponents the greatest and the most dangerous upholder of the ancient materialistic heresy; his frankness, his candor, his lucidity made him that. Even before the actual publication of his first work, his influence was felt and feared, as he himself tells us, and as his contemporaries agree. Before the Parliament of 1640 was dissolved, Hobbes wrote a treatise in English "wherein he did sett forth and demonstrate that the sayd powers and rights were inseparably annexed to the sovereignty which sovereignty they did not then deny to be in the King; but it seems understood not, or would not understand, that inseparability. Of this treatise, though not printed, many gentlemen had copies, which occasioned much talk of the author, and had not his Majestie dissolved the Parliament, it had brought him in danger of his life."⁴ It was as a result of the writing of this treatise that Hobbes fled to France; and it was this early treatise which he expanded, first into the *De Cive* (1642), then into the *Leviathan* (1651); all the important ideas of the later Hobbes are contained in it.

The outpouring of criticism which arose with the publication of the *De Cive*, and grew more intense with each succeeding work,⁵

³ Cf., for example, the first chapter of Cudworth's *Eternal and Immutabile Morality*, where he traces this sort of "atheism" through Greek and scholastic philosophy, showing by quotations from the *De Cive* and the *Leviathan* that Hobbes is dangerous not because he is original, but because his is the last voice in an ancient heresy.

⁴ *Considerations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, written by Himself*. In *Works* (ed. Molesworth), iv, 414.

⁵ Actual evidence of the extent to which Hobbes provoked response during the quarter of a century following the production of these two works may be found in the "Vitae Hobbianae Auctarium," in *Thomae Hobbes Malmesburiensis Opera Philosophica*. Londini, MDCCCXXXIX, I. pp. lxi-lxxx. The compiler gives three lists of works which had their origin, to

led in various directions. Hobbes, himself, in his satirical poem on his life, suggests the chief group who opposed him:

All men did scribble what they would, content
And yielding to the present Government;
My book *De Corpore* through this Liberty
I wrote, which prov'd a constant War to me.
The Clergy at *Leviathan* repines,
And both of them oppos'd were by Divines.

. . . . 'gainst my *Leviathan*,
They rail, which made it read by many a man,
And did confirm't the more.*

The dispute in regard to Hobbes's mathematics, which began in 1654 with the *Vindiciae Academiarum* of Seth Ward and reached its height in the bitter controversy with John Wallis and Robert Boyle need not detain us here; nor is it necessary to stop over the strictly political arguments in which Hobbes found opponents in Sir Robert Filmer, Grotius, and Milton,⁷ since, for our purposes,

some extent at least, in the *De Cive* or the *Leviathan*. Of works which actually advertised themselves as anti-Hobbesian, thirty-four are listed, published between 1655 and 1679; the most important of these are by John Wallis, Seth Ward, Bishop Bramhall, Robert Boyle, Robert Filmer, Robert Sharrock, Richard Cumberland, John Eachard. Another list of authors who, while not directing their attacks entirely against Hobbes, yet clearly oppose his principles, includes, from 1652 to 1671, sixteen authors of twice as many works, numbering particularly Henry More, Seth Ward, James Harington, Samuel Parker Archbishop of Canterbury, and Joseph Glanvill. A third list mentions eleven works, published between 1657 and 1660, which in some measure either attack or uphold the theories of Hobbes. Statements of Hobbes himself in regard to the opposition he aroused may be found in the *Considerations*, etc., mentioned above, and in a humorous poem, written by him in Latin and translated into English under the title, "The Life of Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, written by himself in a Latine poem, and now Translated into English," London, 1680; this is contained in *An Impartial Account of the Arraignment, Trial and Condemnation of Thomas Late Earl of Strafford*, London, 1679. Much further evidence will be found in the volume containing the Bramhall-Hobbes controversy, mentioned below.

* *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁷ Cf. Leslie Stephen, *Hobbes*, p. 49. Hobbes thus pronounced upon the *Defensiones* of Salmasius and Milton: "They are very good Latin both, and hardly to be judged which is better; and both very ill reasoning, hardly to be judged which is worse—like two declamations, *pro* and *con*,

Hobbes's politics will be found implied in his ethics. Far more important is the controversy in regard to *liberty* and *necessity* which began in a conversation between Hobbes and Bishop Bramhall in 1645, as a result of which the Bishop set down his "Discourse of Liberty and Necessity," which he sent to Hobbes through the Marquis of Newcastle. Hobbes responded in a letter addressed to the Marquis, dated at Rouen, August 20, 1645, to which Bramhall replied again in another paper, "Defence of True Liberty from Antecedent Necessity" (1646). In some way Hobbes's letter was published, entirely without his knowledge, in 1654, and the Bishop, incensed at the evident disregard of his request for privacy, proceeded to publish the entire correspondence, and thus translated into a bitter public quarrel what had been a mere courteous private discussion.⁸ The controversy is of great importance in the history of seventeenth-century thought, affording as it does a clear statement of the general opinion of Hobbes's doctrines and their supposed dangers to orthodox belief. Hobbes has expressed the matter succinctly⁹:

made for exercise only in a rhetorical school by one and the same man. So like is a Presbyter to an Independent!" Cf. Robertson, *Hobbes*, p. 187 n.

⁸ An account of the whole matter may be found in *The Works of Bishop John Bramhall*, Oxford, 1844, the fourth volume of which is entirely devoted to the controversy with Hobbes. Bishop Bramhall's first publication consisted of the series of letters which had passed between Hobbes and himself, which he entitled, "A Discourse of Liberty and Necessity." This was followed in 1657-8 by the "Castigations of Mr. Hobbes," and in 1658 by the most important of the Bishop's papers, the full title of which indicates clearly the "orthodox" opinion of Hobbes: "The Catching of Leviathan or the Great Whale, demonstrated out of Mr. Hobbes his own works that no man who is thoroughly a Hobbist can be a good Christian or a good commonwealth man or reconcile himself to himself; because his principles are not only destructive to all religion, but to all societies; extinguishing the relation between prince and subject, master and steward, parent and child, husband and wife, and abound with palpable contradictions." Hobbes's reply to this paper was not written for ten years, and was not published until after the death of both writers: "An Answer to a Book published by Dr. Bramhall . . . called the Catching of the Leviathan," 1682.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

I printed then two Treatises that stung
 The Bishop Bramhal, in our Mother-tongue,
 The Question at that time was, and is still
 Whether at God's or our own Choice, we Will.
 And this was the Result, proceeding thence,
 He the Schools followed; I made use of Sense!

To Bramhall, as Hobbes suggests, the central point of the whole argument of *liberty* and *necessity* lay in the fact that Hobbes denied the eternal and unchanging justice of God, thereby striking at the foundations of all religious and civil liberty. To that idea, Bramhall comes back again and again in his papers, as for example, when he says¹⁰: "That his opinion destroyeth the justice of God, by making him punish others for his own acts is so plain that it admitteth no defence."

Provocative as the controversy with Bramhall was in its own generation, it was of little more ultimate importance than the arguments in regard to mathematics and politics; all these opponents were concerned with partial aspects of Hobbes's teachings. The significant response came from those philosophers who, not pausing for superficial problems of dogma, went to the heart of the matter, and attacked Hobbes upon the two fundamental points of his system, his egoism and his arbitrary morality. From 1650 until 1700—roughly speaking—one after another of them set himself to building up a system which would refute the heresy, carrying the war, in the main, from the field of politics into the field of ethics. Chief among these critics were Cudworth, More, Glanvill, Cumberland, Clarke, Sharrock, Eachard, Parker, the most important of them belonging to the group of "English Platonists." The principles of Hobbes struck at the roots of all that was fundamental to these men—at their conception of the nature of man, the nature of the universe, the nature of God. Each from his own angle, they answered the Atheist, with the result that the outstanding philosophical publications of the last quarter of the seventeenth century are, either admittedly or implicitly, replies to Hobbes. As Descartes (though a Descartes reinterpreted by the "Platonist" Henry More) had been the active force in English idealism of the seventeenth century, Hobbes offered the passive

¹⁰ *Castigations*, p. 354. Cf. also p. 314; 302 ff.

resistance which called forth united efforts of the group in a more important measure than even Cartesianism. So profound was the disturbance created by Hobbes's consummate summing up of the opposition, that practically every orthodox theologian and every idealistic philosopher of the period which followed the publication of *De Cive* and the *Leviathan* joined in the attack. "The philosopher of Malmesbury," says Warburton in a frequently-quoted passage, "was the terror of the last age, as Tindal and Collins have been of this. The press sweat with controversy, and every young Churchman militant would needs try his arms in thundering upon Hobbes' steel-cap."¹¹ The first of the important replies was Henry More's *Antidote Against Atheism*¹²; the most complete systems offered in contradiction to the ethics of Hobbes were Cudworth's *Eternal and Immutable Morality*¹³ and Cumberland's *Laws of Nature*.¹⁴ The reader who, realizing this profound intellectual and spiritual disturbance of the early Restoration years, turns from the theology and philosophy of the generation to its greatest poet, who was also theologian and philosopher, will find himself asking again and again the question: Was not the most magnificent of all replies to Hobbes Milton's *Paradise Lost*?

¹¹ Preface to Books 4-6 of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, ed. Hurd, 1811, iv, 31. Cf. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹² *An Antidote Against Atheism, or an Appeal to the Natural Faculties of the Minde of Man, whether there be not a God*, London, 1652; other editions, 1653, 1655, 1662, 1679, 1712. Cf. a letter from John Worthington to Samuel Hartlib, March 11, 1660: "I have sent you the verses upon the Questions at the Minora Comitia on Ash-Wednesday last. . . . One of the questions is in opposition to the master-notion of Mr. Hobs. I wish he would consider well Dr. More's last book; for I suspect men of that leaven have but mean thoughts of Christianity, if indeed any at all." *Diary and Correspondence*, published for the Chetham Society, Manchester, 1847-1886, I, 277. The book referred to is probably the *Immortality of the Soul* (1659), though it might be the *Grand Mystery of Godliness* (1660). All of More's works, from 1652, are directed in some measure against Hobbes.

¹³ Not published until 1731, long after the author's death, though it was circulated in MSS. This is the most important single reply to Hobbes. In *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, ed. Thomas Birch, second edition, 1743.

¹⁴ Richard Cumberland, *De Legibus Naturae Disquisitione Philosophica*, 1672.

The more one ponders that question, the more definite and clear the answer seems to be. True son of a controversial age, Milton spent the greater part of his life in debate of one kind or another; argument is his natural sphere; he raises problems of politics, of religion, of education, disputing now with a particular adversary, now with general opinion; he needed no men of straw for his attacks in a day when, as it seemed to him, eternal truths were being questioned. The method of the Cambridge disputant was his to the end; in the university exercises, in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, in *Comus* and *Lycidas*, we hear him weighing, debating, arguing, judging; his great prose is polemical; there is hardly a problem of church or state with which his thoughtful mind does not grapple. How, then, in an age which was being torn by one of the sharpest of all intellectual battles, could Milton have remained aloof and apart? That Milton and Hobbes were diametrically opposed in their theories of politics we are fully aware—and it must be remembered that in both cases politics had its origin in ethics. With Hobbes, as with Milton, the nature of the state was the result of the nature of the men who composed it. Milton's intellectual affiliations and predispositions were with the idealists of his age; differ from them as he might in his conclusions, he was yet in his ethics fundamentally one with the English Platonists and their disciples. He had been nearly contemporaneous at Cambridge with Henry More—the “Lady” and the “Angel” of Christ's—and the influences which he had felt were hardly different from those which resulted, through More, in the new Platonic movement; revolting from Aristotle—possibly because of the influence of Joseph Mede and Benjamin Whichcote—More had turned to Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, from them to the Alexandrian neo-Platonists, finally to Plato himself. It is the same revolt which finds expression in Milton's university exercises, in his *De Ideâ Platonica*, as later in the Platonic mood of much of his great poetry. In his interest in cabbalistic ethics—an interest common to practically all the seventeenth-century idealists¹⁸—he is again one with the opponents of Hobbes; like them he

¹⁸ Cf. Denis Saurat, *Milton: Man and Thinker*, 281-309. On this subject, see also “Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*,” forthcoming in the *Philological Quarterly*.

developed an ethical system which, though having some basis in Plato and Plotinus, had been profoundly affected by the neo-Platonism and cabbalism of the Renaissance and by the growing interest in natural science, so that to Milton, as to the English Platonists, the *natural* was *good*: Nature, matter, instincts, are of God, and hence cannot be evil.¹⁶

Realizing these general predispositions, we may well expect to find in Milton opposition to Hobbes as profound as that expressed by More, Cudworth, or Cumberland; and our expectations are but confirmed by such a statement in regard to him, as this of Aubrey in his *Lives*:

His widow assures me that Mr. Hobbes was not of his acquaintance, that her husband did not like him at all, but he would acknowledge him to be a man of great parts, and a learned man. *Their interests and tenets were diametrically opposite.*¹⁷

What were those tenets in which the two great seventeenth-century writers disagreed so utterly? And, granted that they were so opposed, what light does that opposition throw upon our knowledge of Milton? It has until recently been the fashion among scholars to declare that Milton did not, in *Paradise Lost*, succeed in his expressed purpose of justifying the ways of God to men; the problem of evil still remains, they say; so, too, the problem of the justice of a God who foreknew the fall of the creatures whom he created. These interpretations would make of Milton a profound theologian, who nevertheless left in his armor of defense a most obvious gap, a great logician, who nevertheless founded his system

¹⁶ On this general subject, cf. Denis Saurat, *Milton*, etc., particularly pp. 17 ff., 149 ff., 281 ff.; Edwin Greenlaw, "A Better Teacher Than Aquinas," *Studies in Philology*, Vol. xiv, April, 1917, pp. 196-217; "Spenser's Influence on *Paradise Lost*," *S. P.*, Vol. xvii, July, 1920, pp. 320-259; S. B. Liljegren, "Milton's Philosophy in the Light of Recent Research," *Scandinavian Scientific Review*, 1923, II, 114-23; James Holly Hanford, "Milton and the Return to Humanism," *S. P.*, Vol. xvi, April, 1919, pp. 126-47.

¹⁷ John Aubrey, "Lives of Eminent Men," in *Letters Written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London, 1813, II, 444. The italics are mine.

upon a fallacy.¹⁸ It is the desire of the present writer to show that, read in terms of its own day, Milton's justification of the ways of God to men was an entirely consistent and supremely convincing one; and that his central position in that justification consisted in a refutation of the ethics of Thomas Hobbes. In order to make this position clear, it is necessary to examine in some detail Milton's ethics, psychology, and metaphysics in so far as they bear upon two general problems: his conception of the nature of man, and his conception of the nature of God and the universe. This I shall attempt to do, suggesting throughout the similarity between Milton's position and that of such idealists as Cudworth, More, Cumberland, and his agreement with them in their refutation of the egoism and the arbitrary morality of Hobbes.¹⁹

II.

Among the many recurrent ideas in Milton's works, his preoccupation with the problem of the justice of God cannot fail to strike the most unobservant. From the *Areopagitica* through the *Christian Doctrine* we may trace it; it underlies the whole argument of *Paradise Lost*; and we hear it still in the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*:

Yet more there be that doubt his ways not just,
As to his own edicts found contradicting,

¹⁸ All Milton students will appreciate the fact that the most recent scholarship has tended toward a more consistent understanding of Milton in relation to his age, a new conception of Milton which is largely the result of the work of Denis Saurat and S. B. Liljegren in Europe, and of Professors James Holly Hanford and Edwin Greenlaw in America. To the two last-named I am particularly desirous of expressing my gratitude for criticism and suggestions of great value in connection with this study.

¹⁹ Comparison between Milton and the English Platonists, in the sections which follow, is on the basis of their *ethical* theories. I am not attempting in these articles to establish "parallels" or "borrowings"; but to show that in his general ethical position Milton was of their group. His complete disagreement with them on certain important points, and his vacillation on several significant questions, I shall consider in a later paper, in which I shall deal rather with the metaphysics of Milton as contrasted with the metaphysics of the Platonists.

until it is answered for the last time in the farewell words of the chorus:

All is best, though we oft doubt
What th' unsearchable dispose
Of Highest Wisdom brings about.

There may at first seem to be no obvious connection between two circumstances which occurred during the year 1644. In that year, Milton in the *Areopagitica* first definitely stated the philosophical position which is central to his later work, in these words:²⁰

Many there be that complain of divine Providence in suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him Reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing.

In 1644, also, Ralph Cudworth took for his theses for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge these statements:²¹

1. Dantur boni et mali rationes aeternae et indispensabiles.
2. Dantur substantiae incorporeae sua natura immortales.

Yet there is little doubt that both these circumstances had their origin in the fact that in 1642 there had been privately printed in Paris and circulated in England, that first volume of the "heresy" of Hobbes—*Elementa Philosophica de Cive*.

To Hobbes, as has already been suggested, the fundamental characteristic of human nature is egoism. Man is primarily a creature of instinct, desiring above all else self-preservation. The overmastering purpose of all men is a "perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death." To secure his desire, man will go to any length—not only *will*, but, according to the frankly materialistic ethics of Hobbes, *should* do so; for the chief good, to Hobbes, is to each man merely what *he* wants, and he wants life above all. Choice, then, in Hobbes's system, lies in an action of the will, moved by instinct, toward what seems good to the individual. Here we have a theory of value, a theory

²⁰ *Prose Works*, London, 1890, II, 74. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, III, 108, "Reason also is choice." Cf. also for the same idea, *Paradise Lost*, V, 524 ff.; and *Christian Doctrine*, I, 63.

²¹ Thomas Birch, "An Account of the Life and Writings of R. Cudworth, D. D.," in *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, First American Edition, Andover, 1827, I, 10.

of choice, and a conception of man which is little more than a development of the principles of scholastic voluntarism, as expressed by Duns Scotus, in opposition to the scholastic intellectualism of Thomas Aquinas. In answer to the question whether we call a thing good because we want it, or whether we want it because it is good, Hobbes candidly declared for the former. The value of a thing does not lie in the thing itself; "words are wise men's counters—they do but reckon by them; but they are the money of fools"; the value is given to the thing by the will of the man who chooses to have it.

Such is Hobbes's man by nature. What of Milton's? The question may be answered most easily by one passage in *Paradise Lost*. When Adam, watching with Michael the unfolding of the history of the world, beholds the tribe of Jubal upon the plain below,²² his first feeling is one of delight; here are beauty, youth, love, "flowers and charming symphonies." All these, declares Milton,

attached the heart,
Of Adam, soon inclined to admit *delight*,
The bent of Nature.

Were it not for the angel's reply, we might well consider that we have here the basis for a hedonistic ethics; and, indeed, we have come more and more to realize how vital a part hedonism plays both in Milton's ethics and in his life. His doctrine of *temperance* was not negation of pleasure, his *good* not mere absence of evil. To Milton the instincts and passions were not evil, but good, as was the original matter of the universe.²³ Thus Milton never denies the importance of instinct, nor, indeed, does he deny that it is capable of discerning the good; he does not go to the extreme of many anti-Hobbesians, condemning the *natural* as something to be eradicated; the good, as a whole, is pleasant, the evil unpleasant, so that instinct is often sufficient to discern the thing which man should do. But the good which may be discerned by instinct is not, to Milton, mere self-preservation; life itself was the least part of life to him who said with Adam:²⁴

²² xi, 556 ff.

²³ Cf. *Areopagitica*, II, 68, 74, 75; *Christian Doctrine*, I, 179.

²⁴ *P. L.*, x, 1013-1015.

Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
To argue in thee something more sublime
And excellent than what thy mind contemns.

The natural world of sensuous beauty for which the instinct yearns is a world of good; physical health, modest competence of this world's goods, comfort which is neither luxury nor asceticism—all these are ends to be desired.

But clearly such hedonism constitutes only one part of Milton's teaching regarding the nature of man. If he does not deny the essential goodness of the passions, neither does he assert that the passions and instincts are infallible, nor, indeed, that they are always capable of choosing the good. Adam's *nature* led him to take delight in sensuous beauty; by "following nature" he would, on this occasion, have erred, for *nature* was insufficient to point out the danger of that beauty. The angel's reply, in the passage under consideration, is less a rebuke than a supplementary warning:

Judge not *what is best*,
By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet,
Created as thou art to nobler end,
Holy and pure, conformity divine.

The angel does not say; "Never judge by pleasure," but "Judge not what is best by pleasure." Nature—that is, instinct—may judge the good; it cannot judge the *summum bonum*, which can be known only by the *reason*. Here we come to a central point in Milton's ethical system, one in which he disagreed absolutely with Hobbes.

According to Milton's psychology—standard in his age—there is in man a gradated order: lowest in the scale are the vital spirits which serve the animal; these in turn serve the intellectual, these the rational, these, finally the spirit; thus Milton distinguishes the various phases of man's constitution: mere life, capacity of sense perception, fancy (that is, the promptings of sense as communicated to the brain), understanding (which implies an intellectual reception of sense impressions), finally Reason, which may be either discursive or intuitive.²⁵ Chief among these quali-

²⁵ Cf. in general, *P. L.*, iv, 80 ff.; v, 100 ff.; 408 ff.; 482 ff.; viii, 460; 590 ff.; ix, 187.

ties is Reason, "the being of the soul," which differs from the Supreme Reason not in kind but in degree. With the English Platonists, Milton shares the Stoic exaltation of Reason, in which he finds the chief gift of God to man; originally possessed by all men equally, the light of Reason becomes dim only when man allows his passions to usurp the authority of Reason. In Milton's psychology and ethics, the *natural* order of man's faculties is all-important; as God established them, so should they remain; the vital animal life, good in itself, must be subservient to the intellectual life; otherwise chaos will result. *Sin* to Milton consists in a reversal on the part of man of the natural faculties; appetite triumphs over will, will over reason, and man, the image of God, becomes no more than beast. This is clearly expressed in the account of the Fall:²⁶

For Understanding ruled not, and the Will
 Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
 To sensual appetite, who from beneath,
 Usurping over sovran Reason, claimed
 Superior sway. 18, 1127 ff.

In his conception of Reason are centered Milton's ethics, politics, and psychology. The mind of man to him is no *tabula rasa*, nor is man but a bundle of instincts. Again and again he shows, both argumentatively and allegorically, that man's likeness to God consists not in bodily similarity but in the possession of that Right Reason, implanted in him by God. So long as he follows this, he cannot go astray. To the common possession of this quality by all men may be traced the universal agreement in fundamental matters—that *consensus gentium* which Milton, in common with many of his contemporaries, found the chief argument for the existence of God. In that ideal state of nature in which all men follow reason, there can be only universal agreement and peace (a different picture, indeed, from that state of nature of Hobbes in which there is but universal warfare!); it is with the loss, through passion, of Right Reason, that true freedom disappears:

yet know withal
 Since thy original lapse, true liberty
 Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
 Twinned, and from her hath no dividual being.²⁷

²⁶ ix, 1127 ff.

²⁷ P. L., xii, 74 ff.

If man permits Reason to be obscured, external force may be necessary, for the sake of others in society; this Milton makes clear in regard to Satan's revolution, when God says to Abdiel:²⁸

subdue

By force who reason for their law refuse,
Right reason for their law.

The same idea lies back of Michael's words to Adam:²⁹

Reason in man obscured or not obeyed,
Immediately inordinate desires
And upstart passions catch the government
From Reason, and to servitude reduce
Man till then free.

From his conception of Reason, we may deduce Milton's theory of value and his idea of choice. To Hobbes, as we have seen, choice lay in the will, which sought that which seemed good to the instincts; the thing seemed good because the individual wanted it. To Milton, on the contrary—as he declared in the *Areopagitica* and made clear constantly throughout the *Christian Doctrine*, *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Regained*—Reason is choice. Things are good and bad in themselves; and Reason, governing the passions, sees through the apparent to the reality beneath, as the angel discerned through the sensuous attractions of the tribe of Jubal, the falseness below. The value which is inherent in the thing is known only to calm dispassionate judgment.

Such is Milton's conception of Reason: a faculty innate, shared by man with God, an infallible judge of right and wrong, which directs and orders the will, the instincts, and the appetites; when Reason is in the ascendant, all is well with the individual. The conception of Hobbes is diametrically opposed: "By right Reason in the natural state of man," he says,³⁰ "I understand not, as many do, an infallible faculty, but the act of reasoning,³¹ that is, the peculiar and true ratiocination of every man concerning those actions of his, which may either redound to the danger or benefit

²⁸ VI, 40 ff.

²⁹ XII, 84 ff.

³⁰ *De Cive*, *Works* (ed. Molesworth), II, 16.

³¹ Cf. Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 322: "Down Reason, down! At least, vain reasonings down."

of his neighbors." To Hobbes, Reason is no God-given assurance of the validity of judgment; it is no more than an intellectual faculty, to be proved right or wrong by the event. In that case, there can be no such universal agreement as seemed inevitable to Milton and the Cambridge Platonists, no *consensus gentium*, no absolute right and wrong. As men differ in "constitution," says Hobbes, they will differ in regard to what they consider good and evil. Whence, then, standards and final judgments? Hobbes has no doubt of the answer. "But this is certain," he says,³² "seeing Right Reason is not existent, the reason of some man or men must supply the place thereof." Hence for Hobbes justification of arbitrary standards established by arbitrary rulers. But this argument leads to the second and still more important distinction between Hobbes and Milton.

III.

The problem of the nature of God, as it appeared to Milton and Hobbes, is based on two queries: the question of the relation between God and the universe—what we broadly call *Nature*—and the question of the relative importance in God himself of his omnipotence and his omniscience—the scholastic question of voluntarism *versus* intellectualism.

To Hobbes, as to Descartes, *Nature*—in the sense of the universe—was a mere mechanism; the aim of all philosophy is to give a mechanical explanation of the universe; the ultimate problem is a geometrical one. As Leslie Stephen points out,³³ Hobbes agrees with Descartes that: "Toute ma physique n'est autre chose que la géometrie." The only thing necessary to an understanding of Nature is an understanding of the laws of space and motion; but the problem as a whole did not greatly interest Hobbes, who was no metaphysician. When he comes to the question of the relation of God to this mechanical nature, Hobbes faces a dilemma. If his universe is mechanical, and to be understood only through the laws of geometry, there is no place in it for God or immaterial spirits; yet Hobbes, for all his countrymen's charges, was himself no atheist, and did not for a moment deny the validity of Scripture. At most, however, the relation between his Deity and his Nature

³² *De Corpore Politico*, IV, 225.

³³ *Hobbes*, p. 81.

is that of a far-distant "first cause" and its ultimate object. God is the "power of all powers, the first cause of all causes." We can have no "idea" of him—not even such an "idea" as the Cartesian. He is and was eternally, since the Scriptures so declare; but he has no real place in the universe of Hobbes, which follows the laws of its motion without relation to any supreme power.

Such a conception of Nature as mechanism, with its consequent exclusion of God from the universe, was as repulsive to Milton as to the English Platonists, who for forty odd years bent their energies to counteracting it, first in Descartes, then in Hobbes. Milton's conception of the nature of God and his relation to the universe is a macrocosmic reflection of his conception of the nature of man and the relation of his faculties. When one is understood, the other can be readily constructed. Man is a being of dual nature, yet mysteriously a unity; whether we consider him as formed of body and soul, of instincts and spirit, of will and reason, his greatness lies in a harmonious equilibrium of powers otherwise in opposition. This duality and unity Milton suggests constantly in his relation between God and Nature. To Milton, there are two external "Natures"—one the created whole, the other itself a creator; *natura naturata* and *natura naturans*. In general Milton feels Nature as a creating force; he speaks of the "womb of Nature," of the "works of Nature's hand"³⁴; Nature is purposive—"Here Nature seems fulfilled in all her ends"³⁵; she is in some ways equivalent to God,³⁶

whom God ordains

Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same;

and in the great hymn of Adam and Eve,³⁷ it seems, indeed, as if Nature were God. Many passages in *Paradise Lost*, removed from their context, read as if they were the words of a Stoic praising a natural Deity who is Fate, or an Epicurean praising a Deity of Chance. Yet Milton flatly denied such heresy.³⁸ To him the

³⁴ Cf. *P. L.*, II, 911; III, 455; V, 181; VI, 511; VII, 103.

³⁵ XI, 602.

³⁶ VI, 175.

³⁷ V, 153 ff.

³⁸ *Christian Doctrine*, I, 14 ff.

Spirit of Nature³⁰ is a power less than God, yet part of him, incorporeal, pervading the matter of the universe, and by means of the direction of the power of God directing and ordering the parts of the universe in a way that is not mechanical. As created, Nature is characterized by order, regularity, proportion, and is itself an evidence of the rationality of Deity. As creator, it is the plastic instrument of Deity, partaking of the power of God as it partakes of his Nature, ordering the world of man as it is ordered by God. The significant thing, for our present purposes, is that Nature is not mechanical, but spiritual, and that Nature is to God as the passions and instincts of man are to his Reason—a part, good in itself when it is directed and ordered by the rational principle, yet in itself incomplete and alone incapable of creation. This seems on the surface essentially the position of a poet—and indeed it is; yet before we dismiss it too lightly, we must bear in mind that practically the same interpretation, though in more scientific terms,—a reinterpretation of the neo-Platonic *anima mundi*—was held by both Boyle and Newton, who were not poets. A chief reason for the recrudescence of the idea of the Platonic world-spirit was the desire on the part of Milton and the English Platonists, Cartesians though they were, to offset the “mechanical” implications of the Cartesian philosophy, which seemed to them as certain to lead to atheism as did the arbitrary morality of Hobbes.

It is with this problem of arbitrary morality that we reach the vital point of the great controversy between Hobbes and Milton. The question which it raises is the familiar Scotistic-Thomistic one—the relative position and importance in the Divine Nature of Will and Reason. We have seen the answer which Milton and Hobbes gave to that question in regard to man; the position in regard to Deity is essentially the same. We shall best approach it through the conception which constitutes the central point of the philosophy of both—the idea of the *Law of Nature*. This

³⁰ The best treatment of the conception of the Spirit of Nature in terms of seventeenth century science is to be found in Edwin Arthur Burt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*, New York, 1925, pp. 133 ff. and 155 ff. My own conclusions in regard to More's Spirit of Nature and its influence on Boyle and Newton, reached independently, are in substantial agreement with those of Mr. Burt.

persistent and perplexing term, current from the time of the Stoics until the present, seems to have had an ethical rather than a strictly legal connotation until the time of Machiavelli, as a result primarily of the Stoics and Thomas Aquinas; from the time of Machiavelli, political theorists divided themselves into those who based their theories upon natural law or right, and those who based them on expediency. In his *De Jure Belli et Pacis* Grotius defined the fields of ethics and jurisprudence in his use of the term, with the result that—thanks also to Suarez, Selden, and others—the terms became central to ethical and political expression in the seventeenth century. In general Grotius follows the Thomistic tradition: Natural Law is more fundamental than God himself; right and wrong exist eternally in the nature of things; in so far as God may be said to have commanded *natural law*, he was constrained to do so by his Reason which saw that it was just and right. Divine law, on the contrary, is just *because* God commands it; he may interfere and change anything which is not *in the nature of things*, his edicts in such matters becoming obligatory upon men, not only because they are God's but because they are rational and just.⁴⁰ As in the nature of things, a square cannot be a circle nor a circle a square, and two and two cannot be five, so not even God can make the bad good and the good bad; for God cannot create contradictions. This position is, of course, the reverse of the traditional Scotistic one, held, among others, by

⁴⁰ This general distinction Milton follows. In his chapter "Of the Divine Decrees" in the *Christian Doctrine*, he says that the decrees of God are "general" and "special." His development indicates that the general decrees are those which are decreed from all eternity, whereas the special decrees vary for individual men and races and occasions. In the case of the latter, the command of God makes the decree binding upon men; but Milton does not agree with Hobbes that the decree is right *only* because Supreme Power has declared it; God can decree nothing which is not rational and therefore just. It is this idea which he has in mind in the chorus of *Samson Agonistes* when he speaks of those who

would confine th' interminable,
And tie him to his own prescript,
Who made our laws to bind us, not himself,
And hath full right to exempt
Whom so it pleases him. . . .
For with his own laws he can best dispense. (307 ff.)

William of Occam, Descartes, and Hobbes, that in deity omnipotence is the essential characteristic, and that God's will can and does do whatever it wishes without respect to the nature of things. From this point of view good and bad are good and bad *because* God has so commanded; he might conceivably have made the nature of things other than it is.

As we have already seen, in discussing his conception of the nature of man, Hobbes declared that the *good* for man consists in what the individual wishes; from this point of view, before the establishment of society of some sort, with laws and authority, there was no measure of the good; nor is there any absolute good, for good and evil depend upon individual judgments, times, and places. Hobbes talks much of laws of nature; yet when we come to examine what he says, we find ourselves in quite another world from that of the Stoics, Aquinas, and Grotius. Since the desire on the part of all men is for self-preservation, the fundamental *Law of Nature* to Hobbes is: "Peace is to be sought after, where it may be found; and where not, there to provide ourselves for helps of war."⁴¹ From this are derived all the other laws of nature, laws which Hobbes calls immutable and eternal, saying that what they command can never be unlawful, what they forbid can never be lawful. Yet these "laws" of Hobbes, as he himself saw, are not laws, but conclusions, reached by that "Right Reason" which is only a logical faculty. This becomes entirely clear when Hobbes faces the issue of what would happen if the civil law should contradict the laws of nature. "The Law of Nature," he says,⁴² "commands us to keep all civil laws. For where we are tied to obedience before we know what will be commanded us, there we are universally tied to obey in all things. Whence it follows that no civil law whatsoever . . . can possibly be against the law of nature. For though the law of nature forbid theft, adultery, etc., yet if the civil law command us to invade anything, that invasion is not theft, adultery, etc."

If we wish a succinct statement of the idea which, more than any other, gave direction to English ethics and didactic poetry for the next half-century, we have it here. To these sentences—

⁴¹ *De Cive*, II, 16.

⁴² *De Cive*, II, 190 ff.

and others like them—Henry More in 1652 replied with his *Antidote Against Atheism*, and in 1667 with his *Enchiridion Ethicum*, in which he formulated his ethics in direct opposition to Hobbes, founded not upon instinct but upon reason, considering man as endowed with a “Boniform Faculty” by which he enjoys the “sweetness and flavor” of the Good, considering him not as a selfish individual alone in a war of all against all, but as a member of a society the end of which was to provide a tranquil and peaceful existence. In reply to these sentences, also, Richard Cumberland in 1672 published his *De Legibus Naturae* in which he declared that Hobbes’s conception of a society made up of animals is an impossible one. Animals could form no society; the very fact that man is capable of making and keeping contracts indicates that there is something in him not shared by animals; in place of Hobbes’s instinct of self-preservation, Cumberland posits a “sympathy” which moves man as truly as does his desire for his own happiness; altruism is as true an aspect of human nature as is selfishness. But more even than that, Cumberland opposes Hobbes’s belief in an arbitrary and relative *good*. To Cumberland the measure of the good resides in the nature of things, irrespective of the pronouncement of authority; as a rational being, man desires the good as a good. Thus Cumberland, taking his departure from Hobbes, founded a universalistic hedonism, which was to grow into utilitarianism.⁴³ In answer to these sentences, again, Ralph Cudworth, as we have seen, in 1644 defended his theses; and from that day forward, every effort of his intellectual life was bent toward counteracting the influence of that heresy. Much of his work was not published until after his death; in 1678, however, he saw the first edition of the first part of his *magnum opus*, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*; but his great reply to the arbitrary morality of Hobbes, though it had some circulation in manuscript, remained unpublished until 1731.⁴⁴ His position is stated clearly at the beginning of the second chapter:

⁴³ Cf., Ernest Albee, *History of English Utilitarianism*, London, 1902, pp. 4 ff.

⁴⁴ Edward, Bishop of Durham, wrote in his preface to the *Eternal and Immutable Morality*, II, 365: “Had it come abroad as early as it was written, it had served for a proper antidote to the poison in some of Mr. Hobbes’s and others’ writings, who revived in that age the exploded

Moral good and evil, just and unjust, honest and dishonest (if they be not mere names without any signification) . . . cannot possibly be arbitrary things made by will without nature; because it is universally true that things are what they are, not, by will but by nature. . . . Neither can omnipotence itself . . . by mere will make a thing white or black without whiteness and blackness. . . . The reason whereof is plain, because all these things imply a manifest contradiction. And this is a truth fundamentally necessary to all knowledge, that contradictions cannot be true; for otherwise nothing would be certainly true or false. . . . When things exist, they are what they are, this or that, absolutely or relatively, *not by will or arbitrary command, but by the necessity of their own nature.* . . . No positive commands whatsoever, do make anything morally good and evil, just and unjust, which nature had not made such before. *Will cannot change nature.*

In answer to such sentences as those of Hobbes, finally, John Eachard, Master of Katherine Hall and Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, published, in 1672, "Mr. Hobbs State of Nature considered in a Dialogue between Philautus and Timothy," a satirical vindication of human nature which enjoyed immense popularity in its day; published separately, it ran through five editions in a few years, and in the small volume of *Works* it had been republished eleven times in 1705. Here, more even than in the philosophers, we may see the "popular" idea of Hobbes's "state of nature."⁴⁵

opinions. of Protagoras and other ancient Greeks, and took away the essential and eternal discrimination of moral good and evil, of just and unjust, and made them all arbitrary productions of divine and human will."

⁴⁵ In his preface (*Works*, eleventh edition, London, 1705), Eachard says: "If thou chancest to look into it, and be not already acquainted with Mr. Hobb's State of Nature, this is to let thee know, that thereby is to be understood a certain supposed time, in which it was just and lawful for every man to hang, draw, and quarter whom he pleased, when he pleased, and after what manner he pleased; and to get, possess, use and enjoy whatever he had a mind to; and the reason of this so large a charter, was, because it was supposed that these People had not as yet anyways abridged themselves of their inmost Liberty, by any voluntary bargain or agreements amongst themselves; neither could they be restrained by any humane laws, because the Magistrates was not yet chosen.

"In this Dialogue therefore (because Mr. Hobbs shall not say that I am stingy) thou wilt find, Reader, that with him I have allowed . . . such a time or state, wherein people came into the world (after his own

What, then, of Milton's reaction to this most fundamental position of Hobbes? We shall find it in his conception of the *laws of nature*, which becomes clear in an important, and misunderstood, passage in *Paradise Lost*, as well as in many parts of the *Christian Doctrine*.⁴⁶ The most significant use of the term, for our purposes, occurs in the soliloquy in the tenth book of *Paradise Lost*, in which Adam, after the Fall, cries out, as his descendant Job was to cry out, questioning his Maker.⁴⁷ Here is man questioning the ways of God to men. "Why didst thou beget me?" asks Adam. Why should an omnipotent deity make man, if he is to prove so poor a creature? Would it not be better, Adam asks, for him to end his miserable life, to destroy at one stroke the human race? Then comes a profound and terrible thought:

Yet one doubt
Pursues me still—lest all I cannot die.

Here Adam posits one of the most perplexing questions of theology: either man cannot die, and the threat of God was false; or there is a point at which the will of God necessarily loses its efficacy. Long before, Belial had put the question in a way not essentially different when he replied to the fallen angels who would "wish to be no more—sad cure." Belial in his speech questioned whether even God, the Victor, was able to permit such destruction of essence. He said:⁴⁸

humour) without being obliged either to God, Parents, Friends, mid-wives or Publick Magistrates; and yet notwithstanding I have endeavored to make out . . . that those that are feigned to be in this condition, have all such a natural right to their own lives, and what is thereunto convenient, that it is perfectly unjust and unreasonable for any one of them to take his utmost advantage, and to do whatever he thinks he is able or pleases him best."

⁴⁶ See *P. L.*, XII, 24 and *Samson Agonistes*, 888 ff., for two uses of the term in its traditional legal sense. Cf. also Milton's reference in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, III, 269, to "that noble volume, written by our learned Selden, 'Of the Law of Nature and of Nations'—a work more useful and more worthy to be perused by whosoever studies to be a great man in wisdom, equity, and justice, than all those 'decretals and sumless sums' which the pontifical clerks have doted on."

⁴⁷ X, 762 ff.

⁴⁸ II, 151 ff.

Who knows

Let this be good, whether our angry Foe
Can give it, or will ever? *How he can*
Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.

What does he mean? The essence of the spiritual nature is immortality; no created thing, Milton holds in the *Christian Doctrine*, can be finally annihilated.⁴⁰ Not even by God? No; because its *nature* is immortal. But cannot omnipotent deity destroy even immortality? Belial doubts it; what Milton believes we may see in the speech of Adam, in which he ponders on God's power to "make deathless death":

that were to make

Strange contradiction; *which to God himself*
Impossible is held, as argument
Of weakness, not of power. Will he draw out
For anger's sake, finite to infinite
In punished men, to satisfy his rigour
Satisfied never? *that were to extend*
His sentence beyond dust and Nature's law
By which all causes else, according still
To the reception of their matter act,
Not to th' extent of their own sphere.

We shall find no clearer statement of the issue in More, Cumberland, Cudworth. Here speaks the follower of Thomas Aquinas to the follower of Duns Scotus, the absolutist to the relativist. God may *not* do what he will; his will is not supreme; in God as in man, Reason is the ruling characteristic, and no rational being would desire to create contradictions; not even Deity can make mortal the immortal, finite the infinite; mighty the sentence of God, but Nature's law is more fundamental still. There is, says Milton, an eternal and immutable law, an eternal and immutable nature. How shall we justify the ways of God to men? asks humanity; how rather, demands Milton, *can you justify the ways of men to God?* Cease to ask why God, omnipotent, made man to fall; ask rather why man, created free, allowed himself to be the creature of passion; *God did not make man to fall*—this is Milton's

⁴⁰ "God is not able to annihilate anything altogether, because by creating nothing, he would create and not create at the same time, which involves a contradiction." *T. C. D.*, p. 182.

reiterated cry throughout *Paradise Lost*; it is at the basis of the discourse in the *Christian Doctrine*; it is the central point of his doctrine of free-will, of predestination and foreknowledge. God's Will did not arbitrarily make man's nature, though God's Reason foreknew what man would make of his nature. Brooding upon that matter which is the substance of the world, God's Reason brought out of it all that seemed best; through his creative power he gave that best existence; existence given, God could no more change the nature of existing things than he could, before existence, change the essence. There is an eternal and immutable nature of things, inherent in the fabric of the universe, which not even God can change; for *God cannot create contradictions*.⁵⁰

Thus in Milton's conception of the nature of God there appear the same problems which we encountered in his treatment of the nature of man. At the root of everything lies this question of the relation between a higher and a lower faculty, good in themselves but in themselves incomplete: Reason and Instinct, Reason and Will, God and Nature. The belief in the supremacy of the Reason of God over his Will is implied both in the allegory and in the philosophy of *Paradise Lost* and is a frequently recurrent theme in the *Christian Doctrine*. Milton's God is not an arbitrary Creator, willing that all things shall be one way rather than another. His Will is guided by his Reason, which recognizes in the fabric of the universe an eternal nature which it calls forth, but which it does not create and does not control. Thus Milton says: ⁵¹

Nothing happens of necessity because God has foreseen it; but he foresees the event of every action because he is acquainted with their natural causes. }

This idea Leibnitz merely expressed in more scientific language when he said that an individual who knew the nature of each of

⁵⁰ *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, p. 25: "It must be remembered, however, that the power of God is not exerted in things which imply a contradiction." P. 26: "It is universally allowed . . . that he can do nothing which involves a contradiction. P. 28: "A being infinitely wise and good would neither wish to change an infinitely good state for another, nor would he be able to change it without contradicting his own attributes."

⁵¹ *T. C. D.*, p. 40.

the atoms could foresee every possible event in the future. Again Milton declares: ⁵³

It is absurd to separate the decrees or will of the Deity from his eternal counsel and foreknowledge, or to give them priority of order. For the foreknowledge of God is nothing but the wisdom of God . . . or that idea of everything which he had in his mind, to use the language of men, before he decreed anything.

Again in *Tetrachordon*,⁵³ Milton comments on the words of God at the time of creation, and shows clearly that creation was with God the result of Reason, not arbitrary will:

God here presents himself like a man deliberating; both to shew us that the matter is of high consequence, and that he intended to found it according to natural reason, not impulsive command; but that the duty should arise from the reason of it, not the reason be swallowed up in a reasonless duty.

As from the idea of the relative importance in human nature of the two characteristics, will and reason, there rose Milton's theory of choice, so, from the relation between the characteristics in divine nature, rises Milton's doctrine of free-will.⁵⁴ If Reason is Choice, the governing power of the Will, and if Reason—the Light of Nature—is given to all men by God, man's will is free, since that which constitutes freedom is the power of working in accord with Reason:

But God left free the Will; for what obeys
Reason is free; and Reason he made right.⁵⁵

As the fall of man came about because man followed will rather than reason, so the fall of Satan—a macrocosmic sense of the same

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵⁴ *Prose Works*, III, 329.

⁵⁵ In the passage which follows, I purposely limit myself to that aspect of Milton's doctrine of free-will in which he is particularly in opposition to Hobbes. The problem of free-will in Milton is a difficult one, and does not seem to me to have been satisfactorily expained. I hope, in a later study, to offer some suggestions in regard to an apparent contradiction in Milton's doctrine and a possible reason for it, in connection with some contemporary theologians.

⁵⁶ IX, 351.

problem—came about likewise from the following of will (in both cases, be it noticed, *pride* plays an important part), for to Milton, as we have seen, *Sin* consists in a conscious reversal of the natural order of the faculties, the lower being allowed to triumph over the higher; but God has left it—or, rather, in the nature of things it has been left—in the power of man to rule his passions by means of his reason.⁵⁶

This idea of the rational relation between faculties in the human and the divine nature is fundamental to Milton's defense of God in *Paradise Lost*. Take it away, allow the Will of God the supremacy, and the argument becomes meaningless. If God could have made the nature of man other than it is, and did consciously, with his infinite foreknowledge, make him to fall, then he is not God, but devil—or the bored deity of Bertrand Russell's *Free Man's Worship*. The nature of a thing, to Milton, is *in* the thing; this appears clearly in his account of creation in the seventh book. What is it that God does through Christ—the Supreme Reason?

Let th' Earth

Put forth the verdant grass, herb yielding seed,
And fruit-tree yielding fruit, after her kind,
Whose seed is in herself upon the earth.

So through the process of creation; the nature of each thing is in it; God's Reason sees those things which are in their nature good, chooses them, and gives them existence through his creative power; ultimately there is brought forth man who was "made in the image of God, and had the whole law of nature so implanted in him that he needed no precept to enforce its observances."⁵⁷

This is not to deny the will of God in Milton's conception; far from it. Unlike many of his predecessors and contemporaries, Milton clearly shows that he does not minimize the power of the will in order to exalt the reason; both capacities are important⁵⁸;

⁵⁶ Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, Chaps. III and IV; also pp. 267 ff.

⁵⁷ *Christian Doctrine*, I, 222.

⁵⁸ Possibly the reason for the emphasis which Milton lays on the will both in the human and the divine nature—it was certainly no mere scholastic problem to him—is to be found, as M. Saurat finds it, in the constant struggle which Milton recognized in himself; his autobiography, as M. Saurat has pictured it, is a living embodiment of the classic Thomist-Scotist controversy!

but they are complementary, not supplementary or antagonistic—when properly understood. The will of God, in Milton's scheme, operates constantly, and may work upon and change anything except the *essence*, the *nature*. It was, for instance, the will of God that Satan should continue on his work of temptation, though at the particular time, as Milton shows, God might have stayed him; but the Supreme Reason knew that, such was the *nature* of man and the *nature* of Satan, ultimately the Fall must come. This Milton implies in the familiar lines:⁶⁰

Nor ever thence
Had risen or heaved his head, but that the will
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
Evil to others, and enraged might see
How all his malice served but to bring forth
Infinite goodness.

So, too, God, pondering upon the Fall of the angels, says:⁶⁰

They therefore as to right belonged
So were created, nor can justly accuse
Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,
As if Predestination overruled
Their will, *disposed by absolute decree*
Or high foreknowledge.

The omnipotence of God is more than balanced, always, in Milton's scheme, by his omniscience; the perfection of Deity—toward which man in his weak way should strive—consists in the harmonious adjustment of these qualities. It must be realized that the Reason of God, in Milton's mind, acts not simply as restraint but as guide—a point on which he disagrees with some of his contemporaries; “a certain immutable and internal necessity of acting rightly, independent of all extraneous influence whatever, may exist in God conjointly with the most perfect liberty, both which principles in the divine nature tend to the same point.”⁶¹

⁶⁰ I, 210.

⁶⁰ III, 111.

⁶¹ *T. C. D.*, p. 35.

If we return, then, to the soliloquy from which we started, we find its full significance. God cannot "make deathless death" because his Reason will not permit the creation of contradictions,

that were to extend
His sentence beyond dust and Nature's law,
By which all causes else, according still
To the reception of their matter act.

The Supreme Reason is self-restrained from arbitrary and wilful creation by the *law of Nature*, a law to Milton inherent in the universe, a law arising from the nature of the essences of things. Thus Milton's *law of nature*, upon which his justification of God is founded, is "that general law which is the origin of everything and under which everything acts."⁶²

Such is Milton's theology; such his justification of God and his explanation of the fall of Satan and of man; such is his reply to Hobbes; and there can be little doubt that, if we read *Paradise Lost* with the eyes of its own generation, in terms of its own philosophy of nature, we must conclude that Milton did magnificently "justify the ways of God to men." No man, it has already been said, was ever greater in his antagonists than was Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury; the whirligig of time may bring in its revenges to such extent that the historian of ideas will see in him no more than a man who first vaguely perceived the method of modern psychology and ethics; yet if he is slighted as philosopher, his will still rank with great names as that of the Atheist and the Arch-Heretic whose works gave rise both to the greatest poetry and the greatest prose of his day. For if, like the Satan of the *Book of Job*, this seventeenth-century Adversary brought from the lips of John Milton his confession of faith, he stirred to no lesser heights Milton's great contemporary, Sir Thomas Browne; as we hear the idealist's reply to Hobbes throughout *Paradise Lost* and in the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*, we hear it equally in such sentences as these: "Let intellectual tubes give thee a glance of things which visive organs reach not. . . . Have a glimpse of incomprehensibles, lodge immaterials in thy heart, ascend into invisibles, fill thy mind with spirituals."

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⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*

By T. O. WEDEL

Swift, the master of irony among the moderns, has achieved no greater ironic masterpiece than the posthumous reputation of *Gulliver's Travels*. Written to vex the world, not to divert it, hiding within its cloak of wit and romantic invention the savage indignation of a lifetime, the fiercest indictment of the pride of man yet penned in our language, it has become, forsooth, a children's book—an example, so Goethe thought, of the failure of allegory to make an idea prevail.¹ "Types and Fables," so runs a passage in *The Tale of a Tub*² which could be applied prophetically to *Gulliver's Travels*,—"the writer having been perhaps more careful and curious in adorning, than was altogether necessary, it has fared with these Vehicles after the usual Fate of Coaches, over-finely painted and gilt; that the transitory Gazers have so dazzled their Eyes, and fill'd their Imaginations with the outward lustre, as neither to regard or consider the Person or the Parts of the Owner within."

The failure of posterity to appreciate the philosophical thesis of Gulliver's travels, is not, however, due solely to the triumph of Swift's art. The year of our Lord 1726, when Gulliver appeared, was in no mood to put a proper value upon a work which spoke of *homo sapiens* as "the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth." We need only remind ourselves that the very year previous there had appeared, in Swift's own Dublin, Hutcheson's first panegyric essay³ on the soundness of man's benevolent instincts, a classic expression for the century of the new optimistic creed, and itself the resultant of a respectable tradition. No, neither the eighteenth century

¹ Goethe, *Werke*, Weimar, 1901, XL, 220: "Gulliver hat mehr als Märchen gereizt, als seine Resultate unterrichtet und moralisch gebessert haben."

² *Tale of a Tub*, ed. Guthkelch, Oxford, 1920, p. 66.

³ As republished in 1726, Hutcheson's two first essays bore the titles: *Inquiry concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, and Design*, and *Inquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil*.

nor the nineteenth has expressed anything but scorn for the view of man to be found in *Gulliver's Travels*. Eighteenth century criticism, in fact, is remarkably silent about Swift. Yet when *Gulliver's Travels* is discussed by Orrery, Warton, Young, Jeffrey, or Scott, its philosophy is referred to as the result of a diseased mind, blaspheming as it does a nature little lower than that of the angels.⁴ "In what ordure," exclaims Young in his *Conjectures*,⁵ "hast thou dipped thy pencil! What a monster hast thou made of the 'Human face divine!'" The German Herder, to be sure, attempts to appreciate Swift's misanthropy, at the same time preserving his constant enthusiasm for Shaftesbury. But it is John Wesley who, alone among eighteenth century readers, can cite the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms with real enthusiasm. In his longest written work, *The Doctrine of Original Sin*,⁶ it is Swift rather than St. Augustine upon whom he leans for quotations.

Yet if Swift had written *Gulliver's Travels* a few generations earlier, he would have given little cause for complaint. Pascal would have understood him, as would La Rochefoucauld and Boileau;⁷ so would Montaigne; so would Bayle. For the transition

"In this last part of his imaginary travels," says Orrery (*Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, Letter 15), "Swift has indulged a misanthropy that is intolerable. The representation which he has given us of human nature, must terrify and even debase the mind of the reader who views it." Walter Scott in his preface to *Gulliver* is no less severe: "The voyage to the land of the Houyhnhnms is, beyond contest, the basest and most unworthy part of the work. It holds mankind forth in a light too degrading for contemplation, and which, if admitted, would justify or palliate the worst vices, by exhibiting them as natural attributes, and rendering reformation from a state of such depravity a task too desperate to be attempted." Jeffrey's comment (*Edinburgh Review*, Sept., 1816) is: "The scope of the whole work, and indeed of all his writings is to degrade and villify human nature." A typical modern comment is that of Courthope (*Liberal Movement in English Literature*, London, 1885, p. 112): "Chivalrous feeling could scarcely breathe in the same atmosphere as Gulliver."

⁴ Steinke, M. W., *Edward Young's Conjectures on Original Composition*, New York, 1917, p. 59.

⁵ *The Doctrine of Original Sin* was written in 1757.

⁷ Boileau's eighth Satire constitutes, together with Montaigne's *Apologie de Raymond Sébonde*, perhaps the best parallel to Swift's picture of man as beast.

from the seventeenth century to the eighteenth was experiencing a revolution in ethical thought. "Rarely, if ever," says Brunetière,⁸ with perhaps too dogmatic assurance, "has so profound a transformation occurred more swiftly. Everything has changed." The pessimism of Pascal has given way to the optimism of Leibnitz; the theory of self-love of La Rochefoucauld to the theory of benevolence of Hutcheson and Hume; the scepticism of Montaigne to the rationalism of Locke, Toland, and Clarke; the dualism of Nature and Grace to a monistic inclusion of Nature under the rule of a beneficent God; the bold warfare between atheism and faith to a mere gentlemen's quarrel between revealed and natural religion. In fact, it is this revolutionary background which alone can explain Swift's purpose in writing *Gulliver's Travels*.

Swift's darker meaning, to be sure, does not lie on the surface, for, as Johnson noted in his biographical sketch, he was the most reticent of men. Rarely does he reveal his opinions or his feelings without a cloak of irony; rarely does he quote an author. Indeed an article of his artistic creed discouraged quotation.⁹ Pedantry is absent from his writings to a fault. While Bolingbroke, in the famous correspondence, overloads his page with learning, Swift turns out epigrams on Ireland or the weather. *Vive la bagatelle* was his motto. He might illustrate the saying of Joubert: "The wise man is serious about few things." Or he might have applied to himself his own maxim:¹⁰ "Some people take more care to hide their wisdom than their folly."

Yet the student of Swift is not left entirely without guidance as to his philosophical opinions. The *Tale of a Tub*, for example, furnishes plentiful evidence of his distrust of metaphysics on the one hand, of his hatred of mystical enthusiasm on the other. A stray remark in his *Letter to a Young Clergyman* tells us that he did not approve of Locke's attack upon innate ideas. His *Sermon on the Trinity*, thought by Wesley to be one of the great sermons of the age, helps, when read in the light of contemporary thought, to define the same anti-rationalism which appears in *Gulliver's Travels* and which animated his attacks upon the Deists. The

⁸ Brunetière's article on Bayle (*Études Critiques*, v, 116).

⁹ See his *Letter to a Young Clergyman* (*Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott, London, 1909, III, 211).

¹⁰ *Thoughts on Various Subjects* (*Prose Works*, I, 278).

Sermon on Conscience, in turn, defending religion against the upholders of mere moral honesty and honour, reads like a rebuttal of both Shaftesbury and Mandeville. The *Correspondence* yields more than one hint that Swift felt himself to be on the side of the opposition with reference to the growing optimism of Pope and Bolingbroke. In two letters, in particular, Swift plays the truant to his creed of reticence, giving us in round terms his formula of misanthropy. I shall quote the respective passages in full. The first, indeed, constitutes the *locus classicus* for the critic of Gulliver.¹¹

I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities, and all my love is toward individuals: for instance, I hate the tribe of lawyers, but I love Counsellor Such-a-one, and Judge Such-a-one But principally I hate and detest that animal called man, although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth. This is the system upon which I have governed myself many years, but do not tell, and so I shall go on till I have done with them. I have got materials toward a treatise, proving the falsity of that definition *animal rationale*, and to show it would be only *rationis capax*. Upon this great foundation of misanthropy, though not in Timon's manner, the whole building of my Travels is erected; and I will never have peace of mind till all honest men are of my opinion.

In the second and later letter¹² Swift is dissuading Pope from undertaking a refutation of La Rochefoucauld, who, Swift says, "is my favourite, because I found my whole character in him." "I desire you and all my friends will take a special care that my disaffection to the world may not be imputed to my age, for I have credible witnesses ready to depose that it has never varied from the twenty-first to the fifty-eighth year of my life. . . . I tell you after all, that I do not hate mankind: it is *vous autres* who hate them, because you would have them reasonable animals, and are angry for being disappointed."

Finally, besides all such incidental aids for the critic, we have *Gulliver's Travels* itself—its views on education and politics; its attack on science; its satire on luxury, war, and commerce, bordering on a kind of primitivism; its dualism of Yahoos and Houyhnhnms; above all, its savage indignation at the animalism and pettiness of man, culminating in its magnificent peroration on pride.

¹¹ Swift's *Correspondence*, ed. Ball, London, 1910-13, III, 276.

¹² *Correspondence*, III, 292.

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And in trying to interpret in the light of the ethical revolution of his day, at least some of this provocative satire, I may begin with his misanthropic view in general, his hatred of the animal called man, his love for individuals—"a sentiment," so Thomas Warton thought,¹³ voicing the general opinion of posterity, "that dishonors him as a man, a Christian, and a philosopher." A hard view of man it is, clearly, yet no more severe than that of the seventeenth century as a whole. Parallels to Swift's very words can be found several times over. Listen, for example to Pascal:¹⁴ "The nature of man may be viewed in two ways: the one according to its end, and then he is great and incomparable; the other, according to the multitude, just as we judge of the nature of the horse and the dog, popularly, . . . and then man is abject and vile. . . . The nature of man is wholly natural, *omne animal*." Or to a similar judgment of La Bruyère:¹⁵ "A reasonable man may hate mankind in general; he discovers in it so little of virtue. But he is ready to excuse the individual . . . and strives to deserve as little as possible a similar indulgence." One is tempted to quote by way of contrast Hazlitt's confession,¹⁶ equally typical of more recent centuries: "I believe in the theoretical benevolence, but the practical malignity of man."

In more general form, Swift's hard view of man could be duplicated scores of times even without resorting to the Ancients, the Fathers, or the Calvinists. Although, as we shall see, a more flattering doctrine had already appeared early in the seventeenth century, his is after all the prevailing judgment on human nature from Montaigne to Locke, among men of the world as well as ascetic Christians. Even Bayle at the turn of the new century, arch sceptic that he was, still clings to it. His article on Ovid, for example, in the *Dictionnaire*, quoting voluminously from Cicero and St. Augustine to Esprit and the Moderns, reads like a pedantic prospectus of *Gulliver's Travels*. In Bayle's view, man is still an ungovernable animal, ruled by self-love, given over to evil incomparably more than to good, the slight glimmering of reason which

¹³ See Pope's *Works*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, vii, 53.

¹⁴ Pascal, *Thoughts* (tr. Temple Classics), Nos. 415, 94.

¹⁵ La Bruyère, *Caractères*, chap. "De l'homme."

¹⁶ Hazlitt, *Aphorisms on Man*, No. 46 (*Works*, ed. Waller and Glover, London, 1904-06, xii, 222).

has been left him usually worsted in the fight against the passions, his only hope, apart from utilitarian virtue, being divine grace. Vauvenargues, a moralist writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, may well exclaim:¹⁷ "Man is at present in disgrace among all those who think; they heap upon him all manner of vices." Only he adds: "Perhaps he is soon to awake and to demand the restitution of his virtues." By the year 1726, in England at least, the restitution of man's virtues was already well under way. The dignity of human nature is already on everyone's lips. Locke and the Deists had given man a new trust in Reason; the Cambridge Platonists and Shaftesbury were discovering in him a moral sense, even in the hitherto despised realm of the passions. Nothing seems more certain to the new age than the existence of a beneficent deity, and the consequent goodness of his creation. Optimistic theodicies are being written on all sides,¹⁸ explaining away the evil from this best of all possible worlds. "Place the mind in its right posture," declares a *Spectator* paper,¹⁹ "it will immediately discover its innate propension to beneficence. Persons conscious of their own integrity, satisfied with themselves and their condition, and full of confidence in a Supreme Being, and the hope of immortality, survey all about them with a flow of goodwill. As trees which like their soil, they shoot out in expressions of kindness and bend beneath their own precious load, to the hand of the gatherer." A popular article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*²⁰ (1732) sets out to prove "that men are as generally good, as they are represented bad." Any other conclusion is declared to be a blasphemy against God; "for neither God nor man can be good but by their works."

Definitions of vice and virtue are at sixes and sevens. Evil and good, once set over against each other as equivalent to Nature and Grace, now oppose each other within the natural realm alone. Pride has become a virtue. When Pope proposed to refute La

¹⁷ Sainte-Beuve's article on Vauvenargues in the *Causeries du Lundi*, Nov. 18, 1850.

¹⁸ Optimism is almost full-blown in Henry More's *Divine Dialogues* (1668). The *De Origine Mali* of William King, Swift's ecclesiastical superior, appeared in 1702; the *Théodicée* of Leibnitz, in 1710.

¹⁹ *Spectator*, No. 610.

²⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan. and June, 1732.

Rochefoucauld²¹ by dissolving vices into virtues, as the cynic of the seventeenth century had dissolved virtues into vices, he set himself a supernumerary task. The thing was being done all around him. An unworldly definition of virtue had become almost unintelligible. Tindal, the Deist, asserts that the Sermon on the Mount is absurd for practical life.²² "Pascal and La Rochefoucauld," says Voltaire,²³ "who were read by everyone, have accustomed the French public to interpret the word self-love always in a bad sense. Only in the eighteenth century did a change come about, so that the ideas of vice and pride were no longer necessarily attached to the word." Precisely so. Mandeville gained a stormy hearing for his paradox of "private vices, public benefits" simply because at least half of his terminology was being dropped from the new vocabulary.²⁴

²¹ An interesting comment of Pope on La Rochefoucauld is preserved by Spence (*Anecdotes*, London, 1820, p. 9): "As L'Esprit, La Rochefoucauld, and that sort of people, prove that all virtues are disguised vices, I would engage to prove all vices to be disguised virtues. Neither, indeed, is true, but this would be a more agreeable subject, and would overturn their whole scheme."

²² Tindal, *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, London, 1732, p. 312: "Even the Precept of forgiving injuries, not only seven, but seventy times seven, excepting interpreted consistently with what the light of Nature dictates to be our duty . . . would be a Doctrine attended with fatal consequences."

²³ *Encyclopédie*, article "Intérêt."

²⁴ The paradox of Mandeville runs all through seventeenth century thought, though not all of its proponents equal Mandeville in his Epicurean equanimity. In fact, the quarrel between morality and religion goes back at least as far as Bacon. One of the favorite texts of the Deists was a passage in Bacon's essay on Superstition: "Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all of which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not." (See Collins' *Discourse on Freethinking*, London, 1713, p. 106. An anonymous pamphlet, *False Religion worse than no Religion*, London, 1730, quotes the same passage on its title-page). This thesis is discussed at length by Charron and by Bayle. An interesting parallel to Mandeville's paradox is found in Pascal (*Thoughts*, Temple Classics, Nos. 452, 453): "To pity the unfortunate is not contrary to lust. On the contrary, we can quite well give such evidence of friendship, and acquire the reputation of kindly feelings, without giving anything. From lust men have found and extracted excellent rules of policy, morality, and justice; but

In theological terms, what was happening of course was the avowed or tacit denial of the doctrine of original sin. Human nature was being absolved of corruption. The ancient Christian faith, in the words of Pascal, had rested on but two things, "the corruption of nature and redemption by Jesus Christ." Half at least of Pascal's formula is seldom spoken of after 1700. Even before that date optimism and orthodoxy jostle each other in unexpected places. Jeremy Taylor²⁵ is already suspected of unorthodoxy on the subject of original sin. Tillotson, though he bows to the traditional dogma,²⁶ became for the Deists a favorite prop for their rationalistic doctrines. A popular version of both the old and the new in theological thought is Bishop Burnet's naïve account (1680) of the death of the Earl of Rochester. Though Rochester's views can lay no claim to consistency, he is at least an optimist. Man's instincts must be restrained here and there perhaps, but they are not evil. The story of Adam's fall is absurd—one man cheating the whole world. The honest Bishop offers no rational explanation; he merely asserts²⁷ in the name of Platonism and Augustinian Christianity that "common experience tells us there is a great disorder in our Nature, which is not easily rectified: all philosophers were sensible of it, and every man that designs to govern himself by Reason, feels the struggle between it and Nature. So that it is plain there is a lapse of the high powers of the Soul."

With the turn of the century, however, words like these are rarely heard. If anyone doubts that by the year 1700 a new philosophy was in the air, he need merely read a designedly orthodox work such as Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*. Christianity is no longer for Locke, what it was for Pascal, a healer of souls, but a supernatural blunderbuss enforcing the police regulations of natural morality. Adam's fall, so Locke argues, brought the punishment of death upon the world, but implies no corruption of nature. "If by death, threatened to Adam, were meant the cor-

in reality this vile root of man, this *figmentum malum* is only covered, it is not taken away."

²⁵ Swift's *Prose Works*, III, 176.

²⁶ See, for example, Tillotson's Sermon, *On the Goodness of God* (*Works*, 10 vols., London, 1820, Sermon No. 145).

²⁷ Burnet, G., *Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Honorable John, Earl of Rochester*, London, 1680, p. 85.

ruption of human nature in his posterity, 'tis strange that the New Testament should not anywhere take notice of it."²⁸ Locke's literalism is indeed daring in view of centuries of Pauline theology. And while occasionally a writer on divinity saw that here lay the chief danger to the old orthodoxy²⁹ in Locke's appealing philosophy, the prevailing thought of the century passed on to other issues, busying itself with asserting the necessity of revelation for natural law, or, in Samuel Johnson's phrase, defending the apostles against the charge of forgery once a week. Wesley, harking back to pagan antiquity for parallels to his own unflattering view of man, and glancing at the new gospel, exclaims: "But how much more knowing than these old pagans are the present generation of Christians! How many laboured panegyrics do we now read and hear on the dignity of human nature!" . . . "I cannot see that we have much need of Christianity. Nay, not any at all; for 'they that are whole have no need of a physician!' . . . Nor can Christian philosophy, whatever be thought of the pagan, be more properly defined than in Plato's words: 'the only true method of healing a distempered soul.' But what need of this if we are in perfect health?"³⁰ And in refutation of contemporary optimism Wesley proceeds to unload upon the reader page upon page of *Gulliver*.

In the world of political thought, the clash between old and new is perhaps nowhere so concretely exhibited as in the contrasting theories regarding the state of nature. For not in *Gulliver* only are Yahoos set over against Houyhnhnms. In fact it looks like too simple a discovery to point out that in the last voyage of the *Travels* we have, designedly or not, Hobbes contrasted with Locke. And yet the parallel holds good surprisingly well. Men in Hobbes' state of nature, like Swift's Yahoos, are "in that condition which is called war; and such a war, as is of every man against every

²⁸ Locke, *The Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures*, London, 1695, p. 7.

²⁹ See an anonymous tract, *An Account of Mr. Locke's Religion out of his own Writings*, London, 1700; also John Edwards, *Some Thoughts concerning several Causes and Occasions of Atheism, with some Reflections on a late Book entitled "The Reasonableness of Christianity,"* London, 1695.

³⁰ See Sermon 127, *The Deceitfulness of the Human Heart; The Doctrine of Original Sin* (Wesley, *Works*, New York, 1832, v, 510 ff.).

man . . . with no arts, no letters, no society, and, which is worst of all, continual fear of violent danger; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.”³¹ And while Hobbes’ brevity of description with regard to his state of war prevents elaboration of the parallel, the corresponding similarity between Locke and Swift is certainly tempting. Men in Locke’s state of nature, like the Houyhnhnms, are rational creatures, “living together according to reason, without a common superior,”—in a state of liberty without license, every one administering the laws of nature for himself, laws of temperance and mutual benevolence.³² The relation of Swift to Hobbes and to Locke is a subject for separate investigation. On the whole, I think (and Swift’s political writings would furnish evidence in abundance), he stands nearer to Hobbes. In *Gulliver’s Travels*, however, Swift is clearly neither Hobbes nor Locke. Gulliver is neither Yahoo nor Houyhnhnm. He cannot attain to the rational felicity of the Houyhnhnms. Neither has he sunk to the level of the Yahoos, though this is a doubtful advantage. He lacks the strength of a healthy animal, and his glimmering of reason has unhappily burdened him with responsibility of conscience.

Indeed, if Swift’s own hints regarding the meaning of his book are heeded, it is in the contrast between Yahoo and Houyhnhnm that his main thesis lies hid. Gulliver, occupying a position between the two, part beast, part reason, is Swift’s allegorical picture of the dual nature of man. He is not Houyhnhnm, *animal rationale*, nor is he Yahoo. He is *rationis capax*: One could apply to *Gulliver’s Travels* a passage of Cicero, quoted with approval by both St. Augustine and Bayle: “Nature has been to man not a mother, but a step-mother—sending him into the world naked, frail, and infirm, toiling under a burden of care, fearful, slothful, and given over to lust, but not without a spark of divine reason.”³³

Animal rationale—*animal rationis capax*! Swift’s somewhat

³¹ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part I, chap. 13.

³² Locke, *Two Treatises on Government*, Book II, Chaps. 2, 3.

³³ “Homo non ut a matre, sed ut a noverca natura editus est in vitam, corpore nudo, et fragili, et infirmo, animo autem anxio ad molestias, humili ad timores, molli ad labores, prono ad libidines, in quo tamen inesset tamquam obrutus quidam divinus ignis ingenii et mentis.” See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article “Ovid,” Remark E.

? scholastic distinction turns out, in the light of seventeenth century thought, to be by no means scholastic. It symbolizes, in fact, the chief intellectual battle of the age. Swift seems to have seen clearly enough that in assaulting man's pride in reason, he was attacking the new optimism at its very root. His enmity to rationalistic dogmatism was the one enduring intellectual passion of his life. It animates his orthodoxy in his sermon on the Trinity; it prompts the dangerous laughter of *The Tale of a Tub*; it explains his merciless satire of the Deists.

/// The phrase *animal rationale* can be traced at least as far back as Seneca³⁴ and ancient Stoicism. This fact alone explains much. For it is precisely the circle of ideas represented by Stoicism, however changed in form through centuries of filtration, which the seventeenth century, like the fifth, was still finding it difficult to assimilate. [Stoicism has ever been associated with optimism.] It is the Stoic who worships pride. And despite the noble appeal of its ethical heroism,—or perhaps one had better say because of it—Stoicism has constituted one of Christianity's gravest dangers. *Corruptio optimi pessima est*. No Christian in the Augustinian sense could have said with Epictetus: "I was never hindered in my will or compelled against my wish. . . . Who can hinder me against my own judgments, or put compulsion on me? I am as safe as Zeus."³⁵ The Stoic faith in a beneficent deity and a rational world robbed the universe of evil. To follow nature was to obey God and reason. The wise man, to be sure, had to conquer his passions; but the passions themselves were merely wrong opinion. The Stoic was still master of his fate.

It was Stoicism in the form of the Pelagian heresy against which St. Augustine threw the whole weight of his eloquence in the last great doctrinal war of his career. Man for Pelagius, too, was not by nature evil. "For they think," so St. Augustine defines the belief of his enemies, "that, by the strength of their own will, they will fulfill the commands of the law; and wrapped up in their pride, they are not converted to assisting grace."³⁶ Conceive

³⁴ Seneca, *Epist.*, 41, 8.

³⁵ Epictetus, *Discourses*, iv, 1. 12.

³⁶ Augustine, *Anti-Pelagian Writings* (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Schaff, New York, 1902), p. 412.

of God as goodness and benevolence, of nature as His creation, include man in nature, let the myth of the Fall imply, as it did for Locke, merely a legal death penalty laid upon otherwise innocent descendants of Adam, who are rational beings, free to choose good and evil, and you have the Pelagian heresy.³⁷

Of the popularity of Stoicism in this period there can be no doubt. According to Strowski,³⁸ the author oftenest reprinted in the first half of the seventeenth century was Du Vair, whose *Philosophie Morale des Stoïques* was one of the chief Stoic texts, together with a similar compendium of Justus Lipsius. Coming to the fore by way of translation and paraphrase, Stoicism, as I shall try to show a little later, soon suffered a sea-change, and was destined in its new form, to conquer the world. For the moment, however, its victory was delayed, though the warfare against it was confused, and though many a skirmish was fought on secondary issues. The passions, for one thing, found defenders against the Stoic attitude of disdain. Positivistic observers of man simply denied that man was ruled by reason. Balzac³⁹ ridicules the Stoics as "that inhuman sect which, in cutting off from man his passions and his feelings, desires to rob him of half of himself. In place of having created a wise man, the Stoics have merely created a statue." Or as Swift himself puts it in one of his maxims: "The Stoical scheme of supplying our wants by lopping off our desires is like cutting off our feet, when we want shoes."⁴⁰ La Rochefoucauld, man of the world, sees human nature as merely the dupe of the ruling passion of self-love. As the century advances, optimism itself takes to throwing stones at the Stoics, actually defending the passions as good in themselves. Sénault writes a treatise⁴¹ proving the Stoic

³⁷ The history of Stoicism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has never been written. I am inclined to think that the best guide is still Sainte-Beuve's *Port Royal*. See also Strowski, *Pascal et son Temps*, Paris, 1907; Lanson's article on Descartes in *Rev. de Mét. et Morale*, 1896, pp. 517 ff.; Busson, *Les Sources du Rationalisme dans la Renaissance* (Paris, 1922); Zanta, *La Renaissance du Stoïcisme au Seizième Siècle*, Paris, 1914.

³⁸ Strowski, *Pascal et son Temps*, I, 106.

³⁹ Strowski, *op. cit.*, I, 104.

⁴⁰ Swift, *Thoughts on Various Subjects* (*Prose Works*, I, 277).

⁴¹ Sénault, *De l'Usage des Passions*, Paris, 1641.

wise man a fiction and the passions useful in the moral life. A similar defense is found in the *Enchiridion Ethicum* of the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More. The Augustinian tradition, of course, is against the Stoics. Jansen's *Augustinus* is an attack upon them; so is Arnauld's *Fréquente Communion*.⁴² And Pascal, dualist always, accepts neither the man of the world's cynical acceptance of man as a creature of the passions, nor the Stoic's pride in having conquered them. It is he who expresses the conviction of the mystic: "The heart has its reasons, which the reason knows not of."⁴³ Machiavellians, Epicureans, and Christians are at one in laughing at the Stoic's vain pretensions that the passions can be conquered, and that the will is free.

— Combatants of divergent loyalties again united in attacking Stoic rationalism itself—Montaigne, Bayle, Pascal: Epicurean, sceptic, and Christian. Montaigne indeed may be said to be all three in one. And to understand Swift's own position, Montaigne is of particular importance. (The best commentary on *Gulliver's Travels* is the great *Apologie de Raymond Sébonde*. According to Busson's recent study of rationalism in the Renaissance, Montaigne sums up in popular form the scepticism of the preceding centuries of enlightenment. Now the rationalism of the Renaissance differed from that of the eighteenth century precisely in that it was a sceptical balancing of reason against faith, including reason itself among the objects of doubt. *Que sais je?* asks Montaigne. What do I know? Montaigne's *Apologie*, like *Gulliver's Travels* is a scathing attack upon Stoic pride. Man is placed on a level almost lower than that of the dog and the horse. In fact Montaigne's primitivism, imitated by Swift—his disgust with the pompous boasts of civilization—is a good deal softened in *Gulliver's Travels*.⁴⁴

⁴² Strowski, *op. cit.*, I, 124.

⁴³ Pascal, *Thoughts* (Temple Classics), No. 277.

⁴⁴ The problem of Swift's primitivism—his admiration for the simple government of Brobdingnag and the rational Utopia of the Houyhnhnms—is not easy of solution. In fact, the primitivistic tradition in the seventeenth century invites further investigation. Swift's position could be compared with a passage in Aristotle's *Politics* (Book I, chap. 2): "Man, when perfected, is the best of animals, but when separated from law and justice, he is the worst of all; since armed injustice is the more dangerous, and he is equipped at birth with the arms of intelligence and with moral qualities which he may use for the worst ends. Wherefore, if he have not

Montaigne mistrusts dogmatic theology on the one hand, man's reason on the other. Hence, like Bayle a century later, he falls back on faith.⁴⁵ It is absurd for man, so Montaigne closes his *Apologie*, to attempt to raise himself above humanity. "For to make the handful bigger than the hand, and the armful larger than the arm, and to hope to stride farther than our legs can reach, is impossible and monstrous; or that man should rise above himself and humanity; for he cannot see but with his own eyes, nor seize but with his power. He shall rise if God will extraordinarily lend him His hand; he shall rise by abandoning and renouncing his own proper means, and by suffering himself to be raised and elevated by means purely celestial. It belongs to our Christian faith, and not to his stoical virtue, to pretend to that divine and miraculous metamorphosis." And however mystifying Montaigne's philosophy may be when viewed as a whole, it is, I think, a gross misunderstanding of the role which scepticism has played in religion to accuse either Montaigne or Bayle of entire bad faith. Upon the twin pillars of scepticism and the corruption of human nature Pascal built his own *apologie*, as did Newman in more recent times his defense of the Catholic church. Newman merely echoes Montaigne when he says: "Quarry the granite rock with razors, or moor the vessel with a thread of silk; then you may hope with such keen and delicate instruments as human knowledge and human reason to contend against those giants, the passion and the pride of man."⁴⁶

But by the time that Swift wrote his own treatise to vex the world, scepticism and the belief in the corruption of human nature had given way to rationalism and an optimistic faith in man. The Stoic creed had suffered its sea-change. Sceptic, Epicurean, dualistic Christian had surrendered.

virtue, he is the most unruly and the most savage of animals, and the most full of lust and gluttony."

⁴⁵ See Busson, *Les Sources Du Rationalisme dans la Renaissance*, Paris, 1922, p. 439: "Il [Montaigne] a seulement parcouru, à la suite des padouans, le cercle dangereux qui n'éloigne le philosophie de la foi que pour l'y ramener, le conduisant de la foi au fideïsme, du fideïsme au scepticisme, du scepticisme à la nouvelle académie, de la nouvelle académie au pyrrhonisme, et, par une brusque volteface, du pyrrhonisme à la foi."

⁴⁶ Newman, *Idea of a University*, Discourse V (Longman's edition, New York, 1912), p. 121.

And the founder of the new faith was no other than the father of modern philosophy, Descartes himself. To the layman, burrowing his way into the history of ideas in the seventeenth century, it is almost disconcerting to discover how all roads lead to the author of the *Discourse on Method*. Let any one, after reading Montaigne's *Apologie*, turn to Descartes' treatise on the passions and a new planet swims into his ken. For the first assumption of Descartes is precisely the Stoic faith in a beneficent God and an uncorrupted nature. A good God cannot deceive us, and our reason is from God; hence our reason is to be trusted. And while the Stoicism of Epictetus still left within man a dualism of reason and passion, this, too, is obliterated by Descartes. The passions become good. *Elles sont toutes bonnes*. Vicious and evil instincts are denied the name of passions—ingratitude, impudence, effrontery. Reversing the method of La Rochefoucauld, Descartes dissolves a bad passion into that good one which nearly resembles it. Envy, for example, becomes a praiseworthy love of distributive justice. Pride is good, except when wrongly applied. Humility is scored as evil when it persuades us that we are feeble or unable to exercise our free will.⁴⁷ Descartes' treatise on the passions does not, of course, yet picture the man of sentiment of Vauvenargues, or Rousseau; man is still decidedly *animal rationale*, master over himself like the heroes of Corneille:

Je suis, maître du moi, comme de l'univers;
Je le suis, je veux l'être.

But one may perhaps already see the eighteenth century in the offing — Deism, Shaftesbury, even the new anti-rationalism of Rousseau.

Though Cartesianism, as we have seen, found plentiful enemies in the seventeenth century, its ultimate victory was a foregone

⁴⁷ See on Descartes and Stoicism, besides Lanson's article mentioned above, Brunetière, *Jansénistes et Cartésiens (Études Critiques, fourth series)*; Faguet, *Dix-septième Siècle*. In the *Passions de l'Âme*, one may refer particularly to such passages as article 50: "Qu' il n'y a point d'Âme si faible qu'elle ne puisse, étant bien conduite, acquérir un pouvoir absolu sur ses passions," art. 62, on Envy; art. 159, on "bad" humility; art. 182, 194, 207, on ingratitude, etc., not being passions. Cf. also a letter of Descartes to Chanut, cited in Bouillier's *Hist. de la Phil. Cartésienne* (3d ed., 1868), I, 126.

conclusion. It became for a time the ally of orthodoxy itself.) Deceived by the first-fruits of the Cartesian method, resulting as it did in a dogmatic faith in God and immortality, the Church, fifty years later, discovered that she had fallen victim to seduction. The Deism of Toland, for example, is almost pure Descartes. Eighteenth century orthodoxy, itself turned rationalist and optimist, found no weapons adequate to fight the Deists. Swift was one of few bold enough to oppose them squarely with an appeal to the weakness of human reason. Bossuet⁴⁸ still saw the danger, as did the light-hearted Bayle.⁴⁹ And Pascal rested his dualism precisely on the necessity of reconciling Montaigne and Descartes. Nowhere, perhaps, is the issue fought out in the seventeenth century more clearly expressed than in Pascal's little dialogue between himself and M. de Saci, in which Montaigne is set over against Epicurus—Montaigne, for whom man was on a level with the beasts; Epicurus (Descartes), for whom man was a god.

Clearly Swift belongs with Montaigne, La Rochefoucauld, and Bayle, among those who see man without illusion. But can he also be said to be a disciple of Pascal, the Christian? I do not think so. He did not, like Montaigne, achieve Epicurean tranquillity. He was decidedly not at ease in his inn. Neither could he feel kinship with the saints as could Pascal. Swift was not a mystic. One might apply to *Gulliver's Travels* Pascal's words: "It is dangerous to make man see too clearly his equality with the brutes, without showing him his greatness."⁵⁰ Even Swift's Utopia is the Utopia of Locke, not Plato's philosopher's kingdom, nor St. Augustine's City of God. He was a rationalist with no faith in reason. Against the language of the heart he harbored an almost Freudian complex.

⁴⁸ One of the most interesting comments by a contemporary on the course of ideas in the seventeenth century is a letter of Bossuet to a disciple of Malebranche (May 21, 1687, *Works*, Paris, 1888, ix, 59): "Je vois," says Bossuet, criticizing the Cartesian philosophy from many sides, "non-seulement en ce point de la nature et de la grace, mais encore en beaucoup d'autres articles très-importants de la religion, un grand combat se préparer contre l'église sous le nom de la philosophie Cartésienne. . . . Car j'y trouve à la fois les inconvenients de toutes les sectes, et en particulier ceux du pélagianisme."

⁴⁹ Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article "Hobbes," Remark E.

⁵⁰ Pascal, *Thoughts* (Temple Classics), No. 418.

Wesley, we may be sure, would have found him strange company. Sceptic and misanthrope, Swift fell back upon *sæva indignatio* and the established religion of his country.

Yet Swift's view of man, as Wesley perceived, and as Professor Bernbaum⁵¹ has pointed out in our own time, is essentially the view of the classical and Christian tradition. Almost any fair definition of that tradition would absolve *Gulliver's Travels* from the charge of being an isolated example of misanthropy. I can, in truth, find no better closing comment on *Gulliver's Travels* than a passage from Sainte-Beuve's *Port Royal*.⁵² It is a definition of Christianity, written by one who was not himself a Christian, who throughout his sympathetic study of seventeenth century mysticism preserved the calm detachment of the critic.

"One of the most direct ways to conceive the essence of Christianity is to accept the view of human nature as a fallen human nature, exactly as do Hobbes, La Rochefoucauld, and Machiavelli [and Sainte Beuve might surely have added Swift], those great positive observers of life. The more such a view arouses a feeling of sadness, either in a soul not too hardened, or in a soul which, in spite of being hardened, is capable of compassion and which yearns for happiness, the more it disposes and provokes such a soul to accept the extreme remedy, the remedy of hope. Such a soul will ask itself if this is the true and final view of life, and will seek a way of escape beyond this earth and this state of misery, even in the vastnesses of heaven, in the awful infinite silences. This entering by the narrow gate, this unhopèd-for way of escape to safety, this is Christianity. And I speak of that which is verifiable."

Carleton College.

⁵¹ *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Bernbaum, New York, 1920, pp. x-xii.

⁵² Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, Paris, 1878, III, 238.

ANOTHER BURLESQUE OF ADDISON'S BALLAD CRITICISM

BY ROGER P. McCUTCHEON

Addison's papers on Chevy Chase and The Children in the Wood, it is scarcely necessary to iterate, called forth both serious and humorous protests against dignified criticisms of material which the age was unwilling to admit as literature.¹ Among the humorous attacks, Dr. William Wagstaffe's *A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb*, which appeared within a year after the Spectator papers which it burlesqued, has enjoyed the most attention. As late as 1721, ten years after the Spectator papers themselves, another burlesque, by an unknown writer, was published in the form of a letter to the editor of *Mist's Weekly Journal*, and considers critically the "ballad" of the Dragon of Wantley.²

Mist's Weekly Journal was one of the better Tory newspapers of the early eighteenth century. Its connection with Defoe, who had a considerable influence on its editor, and who was probably an extensive contributor himself, has kept it in prominence.³ The paper did not confine itself to political articles and news, but published a fair amount of semi-literary material.⁴

The "ballad" which is the subject of this burlesque had been printed in 1685.⁵ In the modern editions there is given an elaborate explanation of the original political significance of the ballad,⁶ a significance which seems to have disappeared for the time

¹ See E. K. Broadus, "Addison's Influence on the Development of Interest in Folk-Poetry in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern Philology*, VIII, 123, and Sigurd Hustvedt, *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain*, New York, 1916, chap. iii.

² *Mist's Weekly Journal*, No. 144, for Saturday, 2 September, 1721.

³ See William Lee, *Daniel Defoe, His Life and Recently Discovered Writings*, 3 vols., London, 1869, and D. H. Stevens, *Party Politics and English Journalism, 1702-1742*, The Collegiate Press, 1916, pp. 108-9.

⁴ For example, in No. 291, for 23 May 1724, there is an interesting appreciative review of *The History of the Pirates*.

⁵ It may be found in the Ballad Society edition of the Roxburghe Ballads, Vol. VIII. It is printed as No. 13, in book the third, series the third, of Percy's *Reliques*.

⁶ For opposing views as to this political interpretation, see *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, Vol. IX, pp. 29, 143, 158, 266, 380.

in 1721. The writer of the burlesque was naturally untroubled by our modern distinctions, which put the "Dragon of Wantley" outside the category of the popular ballad.

The writer has escaped identification. From the Cambridge address, one is tempted to infer that the letter is the work of some university wit. His writing shows him to have been familiar with the methods and vocabulary of the neo-classic critics, as well as with the *Spectator*.

Obviously, the interest in the ballad criticisms of the *Spectator* must have been still alive in 1721. To be entirely effective, a burlesque demands from its readers some acquaintance with the original itself. On account of its spirited tone and phrasing, however, this one might well attract readers virtually ignorant of the *Spectator*, or even of Wagstaffe.

The letter was reprinted in America shortly after its publication in England,⁷ but as it has not received much attention it is here given in full, except for such omissions, indicated by dots, as the frank vulgarity of the original necessitates.

"Mist's Weekly Journal, no. 144, Saturday, 2 Sept. 1721.

Mr. Mist, Cambridge, Aug. 2, 1721.

MEETING the other Day with the excellent Ballad of *Moor of Moore-Hall*, and the *Dragon of Wantley*, and reading it over attentively, I wonder'd the *Spectator* had never oblig'd the World with a Criticism of it, as well as of *Chevy-Chase*; for, in my Opinion, it may boast of as peculiar Flights as that ancient Song, nor is the Heroe of it at all inferior to *Percy* or *Douglass*. But since it has been so shamefully neglected, I beg this Criticism of it may, in some Measure, by being admitted into your Paper, shew the World some of its Beauties, and acquaint a great Part of Mankind with a Piece of Poetry which hitherto

*Nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec potuit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas.*

⁷ See Elizabeth C. Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers*, New York, 1912, p. 19. Miss Cook states that "The Courant of Dec. 16, 1723, number 24, transfers entire a very readable bit of fun from Mist's weekly Journal of Sept. 2, 1723."

As 'tis one of the great Excellencies of Writing to raise the Reader's Expectation, so our Author, at the very Entrance of his Poem, gives us noble Ideas of his Heroe, and in a very convincing Stanza makes him superior to *Hercules*; for tho' he slew the Dragon of *Lerna*, yet 'twas with Arms:

*But he had a Club,
This Dragon to drub,
Or he'd ne'er don't, I warrant ye:
But Moor of Moore-Hall,
With nothing at all,
He slew the Dragon of Wantley.*

And as our Poet makes his Champion *Hercules's* Better, so the Description of his Dragon is more terrible than any of *Ovid's*, as you may see,

*—Crista linguisq; tribus praesignis & incis
Dentibus horrendus.—*

*This Dragon had two furious Wings,
Each one upon each Shoulder,
With a Sting in his Tail
As long as a Flail,
Which made him bolder and bolder.*

Which last is a bolder Line than any of the Classicks; and then the mentioning the Flail is an enlivening Simily, and worthy the Author. But to pass by his Claws and Iron Teeth, as too admirable not to be taken Notice of by every Reader, the Childrens Death affects us extreemly, as this following Stanza,

*And at one sup,
He eat them up,
As one wou'd eat an Apple.*

is in the true Spirit of *Virgil*, who was never enough to be admired for his low Similies; but here, by the Fault of the Library, is a Dispute about

*And at one sup
He eat them up;*

For B. Manusc. has it

*And at one Bite
He eat them quite,
As one wou'l eat an Apple.*

But as they are both good, the Reader may please himself. We are led, with a great Deal of Solemnity into the Scene of Action.

In Yorkshire, near fair Rotheram.

So *Virgīl. Urbs antiqua fuit Tyrīi tenuere Colini.*

But the following Lines are superior to the next Verses of the *Latin Poet's*.

*The Place I know it well,
Some two or three Miles, or thereabouts,
I vow I cannot tell.*

Which is a mighty honest Line, and shews 'tis possible for a Poet to tell Truth.

*But there is a Hedge
Just on the Hill edge,
And Mathew's House hard by it.*

And Mathew's House hard by it! Nothing can be more simple and natural; nor is any thing wanting but to see *Mathew's House* to give us a more exact Idea of it. The Conjecture if this Dragon was a Witch or no, is a Thought entirely new, but the burning Snivel he cast into the Well,

*Which made it look
Just like a Brook
Running with burning Brandy.*

is a Comparison very just and dreadful, and the Ancients never bringing it in their Descriptions of this Nature, make *Lambinus* and other Criticks believe they were ignorant of Snap-Dragon.

But after the Description of the Beast, we have the Conqueror's, among whose excellent Qualities, we find that peculiar to our North-Country Champions, of calling People Sons of Whores, which is truly great, and what none of the ancient Heroes but *Ajax* was endued with. His swinging a Horse to Death, and eating him, made the Country, who had with Christian Patience suffer'd their Churches to be eaten up, have great Hopes of his Stomach, and thinking no Person so proper, address'd him; whose Address is so perfect a Piece of Oratory, that I can't but set it down.

These children, as I told, being eat,
 Men, Women, Girls and Boys,
 Sighing and sobbing, came to his Lodging,
 And made a hideous Noise.
 Mind the O save us all,
 Harmony of the Moor of Moore-Hall
 Numbers Thou peerless Knight of these Woods,
 Do but slay this Dragon,
 He wont leave us a Rag on,
 We'll give thee all our Goods.

What can be more pathetic than *he won't leave us a Rag on?* or more proper to touch the Heroe? Which, as it was impossible it shou'd not, we find the next Stanza does: But their Goods he generously refuses, and asks nothing but a Lass that smiles about the Mouth, which, if they wou'd give him, he wou'd engage to hew down the Dragon, which expression *Longinus* dislikes; for, he says, he could not be supposed to hew him down without some Arms; whereas he had the Honour to kill him with nothing. But *Torrentius*, that eternal admirer of this Author says, it was spoke metaphorically, and signifies no more than that fatal Kick. . . .

The Terror and Pomp he goes into the Field with, and the spiked Armour he was cased in, which was beset

With Spikes about,
 Not within, but without;

are wonderfully poetical, and strikes the Reader with an agreeable Surprise, beyond any thing imaginable; and the Quart of *Aqua-Vitae*, is a Thought ever to be admired, as being singular. But as a Poet is to be valued no less for his instructive, as well as descriptive Part of his Piece, so ours claims our Admiration in this stanza.

It is not Strength that always wins,
 For Wit does Strength excell,
 Which made our cunning Champion
 Creep down into a Well.

A Place, I'm sure, no Body but our Heroe cou'd have thought on, but yet an excellent Place, considering the Dragon was so great a Drinker. I am wonderfully pleas'd with the spirit of Poetry in these Lines:

And as he stoop'd low,
 He rose up and Cry'd Boo,
 And hit him in the Mouth:

Which, as our Proverb has it, the first stroke is half the Battle, was of vast service to him, but, to pass by the Sir-reverence, and the good Dousing the Dragon met with, as the *Praeludium Martis*; the Fight affords us every thing that's Great. The Dragon's Speech need not be wonder'd at, for as *Homer* makes his Heroes talk to their Horses, I don't know why our Author, by poetick Licence, may not make his Dragon talk to his Heroe, especially upon Pre-sumption he was thought a Witch. But, to observe further, never was any Language more suited to the Purpose; and, as Mr. *Pope* says, is an Echo to the Sense; As,

the Verse labours	<i>At length the hard Earth began to quake,</i>
as well as the	<i>The Dragon gave him such a Knook,</i>
Combatants,	<i>Which made him to reel, and straight he thought</i> <i>To lift him as high as a Rook.</i>

The Dragon's last dying Speech is as extraordinary as the Manner of his Death is natural.

*Then his Head he shak'd,
Trembled and quak'd,
And down he set, and cry'd;
First on one Knee,
Then on Back tumbled he,
So groan'd, kick'd, . . . and dy'd.*

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Hypercriticus."

Tulane University.

THE LOVE STORY OF THOREAU

BY T. M. RAYSON

The early love of Henry Thoreau for Ellen Sewall has long been known to all biographers; but, because of a desire of the families concerned to keep so personal a matter private, very few details have been accessible. After so long a time this desire has no longer any force, and so interesting an incident of Thoreau's life should be known more fully and accurately. As Robert Louis Stevenson pointed out, the story softens the appearance of ascetic harshness in Thoreau's character.

Several mistakes have appeared in the biographies; among them the story that Thoreau heroically renounced his love for his brother's sake. Less important errors are the supposition that Ellen Sewall preferred John Thoreau and the tentative explanation¹ of the poem *Sympathy* as referring to Ellen Sewall instead of her brother. Biographers have never felt sure of these details and have never known certainly what was Miss Sewall's attitude toward the Thoreau brothers. Miss Sewall married and long afterward told her story to her daughters, who have now expressed their willingness for its publication.²

The acquaintance between Ellen Devereux Sewall and Henry Thoreau was the result of the previous long intimacy between Miss Sewall's mother and the aunts of Thoreau. Miss Sewall's aunt lived with the Thoreaus as a 'paying guest,' and her mother also had done so before marriage. Through this relation of the two families Thoreau first met the eleven-year old brother of Ellen

¹ On the authority of Emerson.

² Two of Ellen Sewall's daughters, Mrs. George Davenport of Los Angeles and Mrs. L. O. Koopman of Cambridge, Massachusetts, wrote down later the story which she had told them separately. This account is in the possession of the present writer and is the basis of this article. Since Miss Sewall, for obvious reasons, destroyed Thoreau's love-letter and cut out of her journal certain passages which probably refer to him, manuscript documentation is impossible. But Ellen Sewall's journal, on which some of the dates in this article depend, is in existence, in the hands of a granddaughter, Miss Ellen Collier of Cohasset, Massachusetts. Mrs. Davenport has the originals of the two letters from which quotations are given in this article.

Sewall, who had, with his mother, paid a short visit to Mrs. Thoreau in June, 1839. That visit was the occasion of the affection from which sprang the poem *Sympathy*. This poem was written on June 24, 1839, and has sometimes been supposed to refer to Ellen Sewall herself with her identity disguised by the phrase, "gentle boy." At that time, however, Thoreau had probably not seen Miss Sewall for years, since the time when she was a girl in school. Very possibly he had not known her at all. The common knowledge of the family says that the poem refers to Edmund Sewall, who became next year a pupil of Thoreau's; and the boy was much embarrassed, it is said, by the poem.

In July, 1839, when Ellen Sewall was seventeen and Henry Thoreau was twenty-two, Ellen visited the Thoreau family for the first time. She received an invitation from Mrs. Thoreau and went to Concord on July 20 for a stay of two weeks. The young girl was of a happy nature, and wrote a long letter to her father full of copious concrete detail and full of delight in everything. She observed with interest the little gazelle and "this famous animal," the giraffe, which could temporarily be seen in a tent-show at Concord, and she gave particular attention to various pleasant walks and drives and rowing excursions with the Thoreau brothers, John and Henry—of course, properly chaperoned excursions, all of them.

Ellen Sewall was an attractive girl, humorous, sympathetic, nervous, with distinct intellectual interests, and with a reputation for beauty. Both of the Thoreau brothers felt her charm. The acquaintance begun in Concord was continued in a rather quiet way; and in July, 1840, John Thoreau came to Scituate and asked Ellen Sewall to marry him. She was surprised, and in her surprise accepted him,—and then she wondered if she had not been hasty in doing so. She liked him very much, but felt that it was Henry Thoreau whom she preferred. She was very young and far from sure of herself.

When she reached home after the walk on the beach with John Thoreau, who had chosen for his proposal a moment when they were separated a little from their chaperone, her mother asked if John had said anything of especial interest. When Ellen told of her engagement, Mrs. Sewall immediately protested. The Thoreau brothers were transcendentalists; and transcendentalism, which was soon to exert a powerful influence because of Emerson, was still a

vicious tendency in the eyes of some of the older Unitarians. Ellen's father, who was a Unitarian minister, would be terribly shocked by such an engagement. The girl yielded. She was devotedly attached to her father and hesitated all the more to pain him because of his extremely frail health. She was already questioning the extent of her affection for John. During the next month or so she became convinced that she cared more for Henry than for his brother.

Nearly four months later, in November, 1840, she received a letter from Henry Thoreau while she was on a visit to relatives in Watertown, New York. He knew nothing of John's proposal and its result and asked Ellen to marry him. She knew what her father would say. His opposition to Henry on religious grounds would be stronger than his opposition to John.³ She felt no power of resistance in herself. Her mistake in accepting John deeply embarrassed the young girl and tied her hands. The situation might seem to others to have something of the elements of comedy, but to her it was necessarily serious. She had no doubt what would be or what should be the outcome. But she communicated with her father, who responded as she had expected.

"He wished me to write immediately in a short, explicit, and cold manner to Mr. Thoreau," she told her aunt in a letter. "He seemed very glad I was of the same opinion as himself with regard to the matter. I wrote to H. T. that evening. I never felt so badly at sending a letter in my life. I could not bear to think that both those friends whom I had enjoyed so much with, would no longer be able to have free pleasant intercourse with us as formerly. My letter was very short indeed. But I hope it was the thing. It will not be best for either you or me to allude to this subject in our letters to each other. I do feel so sorry he wrote to me. It was such a pity, though I would rather have it so than to have him say the same things on the *beach* or anywhere else. . . ."

Henry Thoreau must have expected the answer which he received,

³ The opinions which Henry Thoreau expressed in conversation at the time can be guessed at by the reflections in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, Chapter "Sunday." Such a catholic comparison of Oriental religions with Christianity would scarcely be pleasing to an older minister of the Unitarian church. The river excursion occurred in this period,—to be exact, in 1839.

for on November 7, two days before Ellen replied to his letter, he wrote in his journal verses which conclude in this manner:

I did not think so bright a day
Would issue in so dark a night,
I did not think such sober play
Would leave me in so sad a plight,
And I should be most sorely spent,
When first I was most innocent.

I thought by loving all beside,
To prove to you my love was wide,
And by the rites I soared above,
To show you my peculiar love.*

A little over a year later, in January, 1842, John Thoreau died; and after his brother's death Henry learned for the first time that John also had loved Ellen Sewall. Miss Ward, who was Ellen Sewall's aunt, was an inmate of the Thoreau household. She had been the link between the Sewall and Thoreau families and had been the constant but not very strict chaperone of Ellen Sewall in her walks with the two brothers. She knew more about the whole situation than did Thoreau. When Thoreau discovered Miss Ward's knowledge of the affair, he told her that the references in the first chapter of *Walden* to "a hound, a bay horse, and a turtle-dove" which he had lost long ago were allusions to the boy Edmund Sewall, to John Thoreau, and to Ellen Sewall.

These details came to Ellen Sewall during the renewal of her intimacy with the Thoreaus after Henry's death. She heard that Thoreau had always remembered his love for her. Miss Sophia Thoreau became an intimate friend and often talked of her brother. She was particularly desirous of correcting the current legend that Henry lived on his friends. She told Ellen that Henry had always earned enough for his simple wants and that in later years the proceeds from his books and other literary work had been sufficient to support him.

The rest of Ellen Sewall's story may be treated very briefly. In June, 1839, a little before her acquaintance with Thoreau, she

* *Autumn*, p. 224. *Writings of H. D. Thoreau*, Vol. VII, New Riverside edition, Boston and New York, 1894. The poem from which this is an excerpt is marked before this passage occurs to indicate omissions, perhaps personal.

had casually met a young man named Joseph Osgood. During her friendship with Henry and John Thoreau she saw nothing of her casual acquaintance, but somewhat later the two became friends. The friendship continued and increased; and in 1842, two years after the relation with the Thoreau brothers had ended, Joseph Osgood was ordained minister of the Unitarian church at Cohasset, which is very near to Scituate, the home of the Sewalls. Soon after his ordination he asked Ellen Sewall to marry him. She was now twenty years old; and this time was not doubtful of her own feeling, as she had been in her girlish inclination toward Henry Thoreau. And in this case she had no need to expect the disapproval of her family. She accepted and was married in 1844. Her married life of nearly fifty years was very happy.

The love affair with Ellen Sewall adds a greater humanity to Thoreau, for which one is grateful. It seems to explain several interesting passages in his works, particularly in his poetry. Only the year before his proposal he had gone on the river excursion which he described later in the *Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. The poems which seem to refer to Ellen Sewall all appeared in this book.

"On this same stream," he says,⁵ referring to the Concord, "a maiden once sailed in my boat, thus unattended but by invisible guardians, and as she sat in the prow there was nothing but herself between the sternsman and the sky. I would then say with the poet,⁶

Sweet falls the summer air
Over her frame who sails with me;
Her way like that is beautifully free,
Her nature far more rare
And is her constant heart of virgin purity—

At evening, still the very stars seem but this maiden's emissaries and reporters of her progress.

Low in the eastern sky
Is set thy glancing eye;
And though its gracious light
Ne'er riseth to my sight

⁵ *The Week*, p. 57, Riverside edition.

⁶ W. E. Channing. The verses which follow are Thoreau's own.

Yet every star that climbs
 Above the gnarled limbs
 Of yonder hill
 Conveys thy gentle will

 Still will I strive to be
 As if thou wert with me;
 Whatever path I take
 It shall be for thy sake,
 Of gentle slope and wide
 As thou wert by my side,
 Without a root
 To trip thy gentle foot.⁷

Much later in the same book ⁸ appears the poem *Sympathy*, referring to Edmund Sewall.

Lately, alas, I knew a gentle boy
 Whose features all were cast in Virtue's mould,
 As one she had designed for Beauty's toy,
 But after manned him for her own stronghold.

 Each moment as we nearer drew to each,
 A stern respect withheld us farther yet,
 So that we seemed beyond each other's reach,
 And less acquainted than when first we met.

 Eternity may not the chance repeat,
 But I must tread my single way alone,
 In sad remembrance that we once did meet,
 And know that bliss is irrevocably gone.

In still another passage he speaks of his incomplete friendship with "a woman who possesses a restless and intelligent mind," from whom he is partly separated by lack of religious sympathy. The verses which follow seem to indicate Ellen Sewall again.

My love must be as free
 As is the eagle's wing
 Hovering o'er land and sea
 And everything.

⁷ The omissions are mine, not Thoreau's.

⁸ *Week*, p. 343.

Be not the fowler's net
Which stays my flight
And craftily is set
T' allure the sight
But be the favoring gale
That bears me on
And still doth fill my sail
When thou art gone

.
I cannot leave my sky
For thy caprice,
True love would soar as high
As heaven is.*

These poems are surely among the most attractive which Thoreau ever wrote and reveal a side of his character which deserves some emphasis. They do not, however, represent his most essential qualities and are partly incompatible with those qualities. One cannot entirely regret Thoreau's failure in love, at least so far as literature is concerned. His Spartan simplicity of life is essential to his character, and he could retain his contempt for poverty only if he remained a bachelor. Marriage might perhaps have been a very serious hindrance to his literary development, and it would certainly have modified the essential and unique qualities of his genius.

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* *Week*, page 367-9. These three poems were all published first in *The Dial* in 1840 and 1842. See Vol. I, pp. 71-72, Vol. III, pp. 199, 222-224.

THE NATURE AND INFLUENCE OF CHARLES NODIER'S PHILOLOGICAL ACTIVITY

BY A. H. SCHUTZ

Nodier belongs to that class of writers who fall short of greatness and yet are interesting subjects of study because of their rôle in the formation of great men. How he influenced the literary ideas of Hugo has been well discussed;¹ of his philological work we have two detailed pictures.² From these accounts, detailed though they be, one whose interest lies primarily in the history of the French language gets the feeling that there is still something lacking: the very nearness, so to speak, of the biographers to their subject has prevented them from getting a perspective, first, of the setting in which Nodier's linguistic ideas were developed, and second, of his influence, in matters linguistic, on the body of men who led the anti-puristic revolt. It is the purpose of this paper to review the subject of Nodier's philology with these two points in mind.

The century that saw the rise of literary Romanticism, witnessed, in France as well as in Germany, an inevitable flowering of what we may well call its concomitant linguistic phases. We know that, as early as the eighteenth century, when French and English fought for the mastery of India, there developed an exotic interest in Sanskrit which flourished throughout the unpropitious days of the French Revolution and even extended to other Oriental languages. The principal names are Langlès (the Orientalist), Chézy (the Sinologist), Remusat (also a Sinologist and the author of a History of Buddhism), Sylvestre de Sacy (noted, among many other activities, for his work in Arabic), later the Burnoufs, especially Eugène (the Orientalist), nor forgetting notable foreigners, Hamilton, Bopp, Humboldt, the Schlegels.³ The brilliancy of such masters and such disciples, the enthusiasm of the time, the admir-

¹ Schenck, E. M.—*La part de Charles Nodier dans les idées romantiques de Victor Hugo*, Paris, 1914.

² Salomon, J., *Charles Nodier et le groupe romantique*, Paris, 1908; Larat, J., *La tradition et l'exotisme dans l'oeuvre de Charles Nodier*, Paris, 1923.

³ Lefmann, *Frans Bopp*, p. 16 ff.

able facilities of the Bibliothèque Royale, all contributed to the formation of a remarkable group of comparative philologists.⁴

Romance, even to its humblest dialects,⁵ had its workers. As early as 1803, A. W. Schlegel classifies the Provençal MSS in Paris libraries, and from then on the activity is unceasing: Fernow's treatise on Italian dialects appears in 1808; Adelung's *Mithridates*, 1809; Champollion-Figeac, a friend of Nodier, publishes, in the same year, his *Nouvelles recherches sur les patois ou idiomes vulgaires de la France*; Bastide's article on the l "mouillé" is of 1810; Henry's lectures on the History of the French language, 1812; the continuation of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 1820. The year 1816 had marked the foundation of the *Journal des Savants* and the appearance of Raynouard's *Choix des poésies originales des Troubadours*.⁶ It will be remembered that Raynouard's connection with this periodical was a long and active one.⁷

Overshadowed by the contributions to philology produced by the masters of the Sorbonne and their foreign pupils, the feebler works of Nodier have passed into a benevolent obscurity. Let us revive them for a moment, if it is only to recall their dates:

- 1808. *Dictionnaire des onomatopées*, produced according to Ste.-Beuve, while the author was still an exile in Switzerland.
- 1810. *Archéologie ou système universel et raisonné des langues*.
- 1813. *Dictionnaire de la langue écrite*.
La langue illyrienne (Laybach *Télégraphe*, May 27th).
- 1817. *Les Celtes antérieurement aux temps historiques*.
- 1819. Prefatory article on the *Dictionnaire universel* of Boiste (*Débats*).
- 1820. *Mélanges*, in which may be pointed out the following articles:
Des Celtes, p. 28.
L'Académie Française et l'orthographe de Voltaire (177).
Choix de poésies des Troubadours (271).

⁴ Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, especially p. 358, for the collaboration of Langlès and Hamilton on the cataloguing of the Sanskrit MSS.

⁵ Grimm, in 1812, had taken the stand that no *patois* is beneath the linguist's notice; Jespersen, *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin*, p. 41.

⁶ Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 64-66.

⁷ The fact that Champollion-Figeac and Burnouf were honorary pallbearers at the funeral of Raynouard shows the close connection between the Romance scholars and the comparative group. See Guiraud, *F. M. J. Raynouard, Sa vie*, Bonn diss., p. 91. It is, incidentally, interesting that an active pallbearer was Villemain.

1824. *Satire Ménippée*, etc., augmenté de notes tirées des éditions de Dupuy et Le Duchat, Par Verger et d'un commentaire historique, littéraire et philologique par M. Charles Nodier.
1826. *Dictionnaire universel de la langue française*, rédigé d'après le dictionnaire de l'Académie et ceux de Laveaux par Ch. Nodier et N. Verger.
1828. *Examen oritique des dictionnaires de la langue française*, ou recherches grammaticales et littéraires sur l'orthographe, l'acception, la définition et l'étymologie des mots.
1830. *De la prose française et de Diderot* (*Revue de Paris*).
1834. *Notions élémentaires de linguistique ou histoire abrégée de la parole et de l'écriture, pour servir d'introduction à la grammaire et aux dictionnaires.*

Notices bibliographiques et littéraires:

- vii. *Du langage factice appelé macaronique.*
- x. *Comment les patois furent détruits en France.*
- xiv. *De quelques langues artificielles qui se sont introduites dans la langue vulgaire.*
- xv ff. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française et des satires publiées à l'occasion de la première édition de ce dictionnaire.*

Series of articles in Le Temps:

- De l'orthographie et de l'étymologie.*
- De l'étymologie et du dictionnaire étymologique.*
- Des mots nouveaux* (furiously against them).
- De l'origine des noms propres et locaux.*
- Des patois.*
- Des langues de convention.*
- Ce qui reste à faire dans les langues.*
1836. *Vocabulaire de la langue française* (in collaboration).
1839. *Consultation grammaticale sur le mot "Marchandise."*
Les termes d'arts et métiers, seront-ils admis dans le dictionnaire de la langue française? Read at Academy, Feb. 14th and published in the *Bull. du Bibliophile* of the same year, p. 121.
1841. *Diatriba du docteur Néophobus contre les fabricateurs de mots.*

This bibliography does not include the many reviews of linguistic contributions published during an active career. The list is sufficiently extensive as it is; and when one considers that it represents only one phase of his activity and that we must take into account, along with his purely literary work, a considerable number of titles relating to botany and the like, the list is imposing. And yet, from the standpoint of the modern philologist, it produces only a shrug of the shoulders.

Many circumstances prevented Nodier from becoming a good philologist. First, and chiefly, we must take account of his unstable character. Ste.-Beuve says: "Ce qui caractérise précisément son personnage littéraire, c'est de n'avoir eu aucun parti spécial, de s'être essayé dans tout, de façon à montrer qu'il aurait pu réussir à tout, de s'être porté sur maints points à certains moments avec une vivacité extrême, avec une surexcitation passionnée, et d'avoir été vu aussitôt ailleurs, philologue ici, romanesque là. . . . Bref, son talent, ses oeuvres, sa vie littéraire, c'est une riche, brillante et innombrable armée, où l'on trouve toutes les bannières, toutes les couleurs, . . . tout, hormis le quartier général."⁸ Hence, says the critic,⁹ he seems rather a contemporary of Court de Gébelin than of Grimm or Humboldt. Second, with all due respect to these luminaries of the early nineteenth century, his failings were largely those of his period so far as his technique is concerned. "Il a mis beaucoup de lui-même et surtout des modes auxquelles il obéissait jusque dans ses études sur les dictionnaires" says Larat;¹⁰ celticism à outrance,¹¹ primitivism, especially with reference to the all-powerfulness of onomatopoeia as a linguistic main-spring, the dream of a universal, ideal language, all these ideas were quite characteristic of the time. Condillac, whom, by the way, Larat does not quote, had spoken of the instinctive cries that constituted the most rudimentary language and of the subsequent selection; so had Herder. The Berlin Academy, acting according to the principles of Leibnitz, had offered, in 1794, a prize for an essay concerning the nature of a perfect language and a comparison of the European languages as measured by the standard of this ideal tongue.

For all that, we cannot accept Salomon's statement that Nodier did not become a good philologist because the comparative method was "unknown in France." Renan, given as the authority, makes no such explicit statement.¹² If indeed, he concludes that the

⁸ *Portraits littéraires*, I, 443.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

¹⁰ *La tradition*, etc.

¹¹ See Court de Gébelin's *Grammaire*.

¹² *Mélanges*, p. 429, essay on *Les grammairiens grecs*. What he says is this: "On peut donc soutenir sans exagération que Apollonius a régné en grammaire jusqu'au moment où le génie des Schlegel, des Humboldt, des

linguistic revolution of the first decades of the century "est encore à peu près non avenue parmi nous," he immediately follows it up with these words "je ne veux d'autre preuve que le peu de succès des ouvrages, pleins de mérite cependant, qui ont aspiré à détrôner Lhomond." His concern is rather with the study and teaching of the French language and with the fact that the "Raisonneur" school still has a strong position in the country. Again, Renan himself mentioned among the great philologists a French name, Burnouf; he could not have been ignorant of the fact that Bopp's *Conjugationssystem* was done in Paris, in the atmosphere of the Sorbonne.¹³ The names mentioned at the beginning of this paper are sufficient warrant of the assiduity with which the scientific study of language was cultivated in France. True, Romance did not perhaps share to quite the same degree the benefits of the comparative method, still one may well wish, for the sake of Nodier's scholarly reputation, that he had done as well as Raynouard,¹⁴ if not Burnouf.

Nodier's contacts during his formative period were not fortunate. Sir Herbert Croft, his employer, the "epicure of syntax" to use Ste.-Beuve's expression, was not the right kind of person to steer him in the proper track. "Est-ce trop loin" says our authority "que de croire de Nodier bibliographe, lexicographe et philologue, qu'après tout l'élève du chevalier Croft garda toujours quelque chose

Bopp, des Grimm, des Burnouf a ouvert à la science du langage une voie toute nouvelle, en créant la méthode comparative, qui embrasse chaque famille de langue comme un ensemble organique et vivant, et *substitue les explications historiques aux explications artificielles de l'ancienne philologie.*" Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 233, expresses himself as follows: "La méthode comparative, si elle s'inaugurait en Allemagne, était ignorée en France, et l'explication historique ne s'était pas encore substituée aux explications artificielles de l'ancienne philologie," and *ibid.* n. 1: Renan le (?) constate dans une étude sur les Grammairiens Grecs." To say nothing of not using the verb "substituer" in the same tense as Renan, the connotation in which the expression as a whole is placed does not seem the same, but appears rather to have been distorted.

¹³ Jespersen, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁴ See Larat, *op. cit.*, p. 251, for Nodier's reviews of Raynouard. No mention is made of Raynouard's review of Nodier's "*Examen critique*" (*Journal des Savants*, 1828, pp. 734-745).

de lui?" For Croft's narrow pedantry was capable only of appreciating the "miettes friandes" of philology.¹⁵

By the time Nodier came into active contact with Paul Lacroix, Leroux de Lincy, and Paulin Paris as co-editors of the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, his habits had been well set; to the end of his days Rabelais represented to him a fairly good philologist because of his agility in the juggling of words. To think that such a philologist could be referred to in a matter of life and death by the Supreme Court of Belgium, where the decision in the trial of a counterfeiter depended upon the meaning of a word!¹⁶

It is certain that, in his earliest days, Nodier did not have the proper conditions for work. Hard pressed, as he likes to make his reader believe, by Napoleon's police, as a result of an indiscreet poem, he carried around from place to place the *Dictionnaire des onomatopées*. Not until 1824, when he was installed as librarian of the Arsenal, did he have the best of available accommodations. What books were at the disposal of the assiduous bibliophile in that famous room of the Cénacle? It is a part of the *décor* indispensable, in the present writer's opinion, in considering his activity; yet the works on Nodier do not tell us what these books were. A description of the *Catalogue* (1844), the chief source of the following list, would form the subject of a separate paper, and hence the selection of titles must be drastic:

- No. 143 Tory, *Champfleury* (Under Art de l'écriture).
- 160 Guichart, *Harmonie étymologique des langues*.
- 172 Estienne, *Précélence*, etc.
- 173 Du Bellay, *Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoise*.
- 175 Fauchet, *Recueil*, etc.
- 177 Péron, *Dialogues* (notable for the attempt to derive French from Greek).
- 178 Estienne, *Conformité*, etc.
- 183 *Id.*, *Hypomneses*.
- 184 Sylvius, *Isagoge*.
- 187 Meigret, *Treuvé*.
- 188 Ramus, *Grammaire*.
- 190 Estienne, *Dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianisé*.

¹⁵ *Portraits litt.*, pp. 467, 469.

¹⁶ See the curious account of Lacroix in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* for 1862, p. 1319.

- 191-195 Treatises on *patois* and *argot*.
- 199-204 Spanish dialects.
- 205-209 Slavic and Teutonic dialects.
- 226-284 Macaronic prose and verse (Nodier had an abiding interest in this subject).
- 288 Marguerite de Navarre.
- 289 *Roman de la Rose*.
- 301 Villon (5 editions).
- 309-344 The works of Meschinot, Molinet and other *Rhétoriciens*, including Melin de St. Gelais.
- 351-362 Marot (a remarkable collection of works and attributions).
- 370 Héroet, *Parfaicte Amye*.
- 394 Despériers' Works.
- 395 The works of Louise Labé.
- 528-548 Collections of *chansons* and related works.
- 600-645 Dialect poetry.
- 646-667 Italian poets.
- 676-685 Italian dialects.
- 858-917 "Facéties," under which, strangely enough, are included numerous editions of Rabelais (Nos. 858-867).

Is the catalogue complete? Nothing is said of Nodier's copy of Malherbe's commentary on Desportes, of which Ste.-Beuve later got possession.¹⁷ Furthermore, one is puzzled to note, in a large list of over 1200 numbers, the absence of Raynouard (whose work, as we have seen, Nodier reviewed), of Marie de France, published by Roquefort, 1820, of other Old French texts edited at the time.¹⁸ Only Hélinand *Vers sur la mort* (sic) appears under No. 1218. How much did Nodier really know of Old French? When Larat talks of his interest in archaism, we must not be deceived, for to one contemporary, at least (George Sand), archaism meant sixteenth century French, including perhaps the language of Villon. But, in the absence of a series of detailed studies on the vocabulary of early nineteenth century writers, it is futile to discuss what archaism may have signified to many of them.

To return to the matter at hand. The library of the Arsenal, public and private collections, had a reputation. Philologists knew and used it, philologists from the humble Johanneau, who borrowed

¹⁷ Brunot, *La doctrine de Malherbe*, p. 88.

¹⁸ The absence of Chrétien is plain, in view of the fact that the Holland edition is of 1847, according to Voretsch.

the Rabelais for his *Variorum* edition,¹⁹ to Wilhelm v. Humboldt,²⁰ Lacroix, Paulin Paris and others.

All this rich experience derived from the period in which he lived, from his personal contacts, whatever their imperfections, from his rich library, all this could not after all fail to produce something definite in a being as intelligent as Nodier undoubtedly was. In detail, as we have seen, it is an imperfect product with which we have to deal. Yet he formulated certain general principles, and these we shall now take up, letting the quotations speak²¹ for themselves:

First, as to *patois*:

Tout homme qui n'a pas soigneusement exploré les patois de sa langue, ne la sait qu'à demi.

Cited by Dauzat (*La langue française d'aujourd'hui*, p. 193):

. . . aucune langue ne mourra de mort légale et juridique, en face d'un lycée, gorrottée, baïllonnée, plastronée d'un écriteau de condamnation barbouillé sur le pupitre d'un pédant! Jamais un recteur, assisté de deux cuistres, ne la jettera dans l'éternité, au nom du roi et de la justice! Les langues sont plus vivaces; on ne les tue pas. Laissez donc les patois, Messieurs de Cahors.²²

Second, as to the restoration of obsolete terms:

La destinée de ces expressions tient surtout à la manière plus ou moins heureuse dont elles sont employées par les écrivains; il n'appartient qu'au talent de les rajeunir, qu'au génie de les revivifier.²³

Il n'appartient à personne d'arrêter irrévocablement les limites d'une langue et de marquer le point où il devient impossible de rien ajouter à ses richesses. Voltaire, pour qui la nôtre étoit si opulente et si féconde, l'accuse d'être une gueuse fière à qui il faut faire l'aumône malgré elle. J'avoue que je me suis souvent étonné de la voir exclure tel mot qu'elle

¹⁹ *Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, 1907, p. 452.

²⁰ Salomon, *op. cit.*

²¹ Though many of these points are discussed by Larat (*loc. cit.*), no quotations are given *in extenso*. Wherever Larat is specifically mentioned, this will mean that the exact citation is there given.

²² "Comment les patois furent détruits en France," in *Bulletin du bibliophile*, I, No. 14. Cited by Larat, p. 196.

²³ *Journal des savants*, 1822, p. 182. In the same journal, in April of the preceding year, he had reviewed, with a passionate plea for its acceptance, a "prospectus" or program for the restoration of old words. The topic of archaism in Nodier is considered by Larat, p. 162.

ne peut remplacer que par une périphrase languissante, et le Dictionnaire que je soumetts au public en renferme quelques-unes de ce genre."²⁴

The striking point in his opinion is that, while he is favorable to the enrichment of the language by the restoration of old terms, he is violently opposed to neologism; witness the *Diatribes du docteur Néophobus*.

Note the resemblance to a most interesting contemporary:

. . . la langue française n'est point fixée et ne se fixera pas. L'esprit humain est toujours en marche, ou si l'on veut, en mouvement, et les langues avec lui" (*Préface de Cromwell*, p. 57, ed. Hetzel). "C'est donc en vain qu'on voudrait pétrifier la mobile physionomie de notre idiome sous une forme donnée. C'est en vain que vos Josué littéraires crient à la langue de s'arrêter; les langues ni le soleil ne s'arrêtent plus. Le jour où elles se fixent, c'est qu'elles meurent" (*Ibid.*, p. 58).

The works that deal with Nodier from the linguistic point of view mention his love for the archaic, for the humble *patois*, his hatred for neologism; we may go one step farther and show that his program parallels that of the Romantic revolt which, it will be noted, likewise favored archaism and dialect but reacted against neologism.²⁵

Now did Nodier influence the Romantic school in its language programs? The question is a complex one as a glance at the first part of this paper will reveal. It is a question of a great linguistic movement rather than of any one man. Yet two things may well be mentioned: First, Nodier was the type of man who amassed facts in order to deal them out in the manner of a *largesse*; second, the fact that by 1827 Nodier was in a position to contribute much, linguistically, to the group with which he was in contact.

University of Missouri.

²⁴ Preface to the *Dictionnaire des onomatopées*, 2nd ed., 1828.

²⁵ L. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la litt. française*, VIII, 730 (Brunot).

A REPLY.

TO THE EDITOR OF STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY,

Sir:

Somebody, probably the author himself, has been so good as to send me a pamphlet bearing title, "A New Study of Shakspeare's Will," by Samuel A. Tannenbaum (New York), which purports to be "Reprinted from *Studies in Philology*, Volume XXIII. Augmented with Three Pages of Notes and Additions."

Mr. S. A. Tannenbaum is, I presume, a "Doctor of Medicine," as I find the initials, "M. D." after his name on the cover of another pamphlet published by him which I happen to possess, but in that pamphlet to which I have already alluded he talks to us not concerning medicine but rather as an authority upon the law of England. Now with reference to "A New Study of Shakspeare's Will" I shall have a good deal to say in another place and at a future time, but as I know that the space, which I think in common fairness I am entitled to ask the Editor of *Studies in Philology* to grant me, is strictly limited, I will now confine myself to one point only, which I will treat as briefly as possible.

In the year 1924 I published, through the good offices of Mr. Cecil Palmer, a book entitled "The Shakespeare Signatures and 'Sir Thomas More,'" wherein I naturally had some comments to make concerning the will of William Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon, which bears date March 25, 1616, and also concerning the law of England with regard to wills as it existed at that time; and, *inter alia*, I wrote as follows (p. 50): "Wills of land were required to be in writing, but it was sufficient if the will was put in writing by the testator, or another with his privity and direction, without any other execution. . . . No particular form was required for a will. Thus notes or memoranda, written from the testator's mouth by a physician or scrivener, were good if afterwards executed."

Dr. Tannenbaum quotes these words, at p. 128 of his pamphlet, but for some reason or another, he inverts the order of the sentences, placing the one commencing "Wills of land were required to be in writing" after, instead of before, that commencing "No particular form was required for a will." He then throws the words, "without any other execution," into italics, and tells his

readers, in a note, that they "embody an inexcusable error in a lawyer," because "it was the 'execution' of a will—the fulfilment of certain legal requirements—that made it a will."

Now I am a barrister of, unfortunately, very long standing, having been called to the Bar of England, as a member of the Middle Temple, after having gone through the mill of legal education, as long ago as 1876, and I am happy to say I enjoyed a very considerable amount of practice up to the time when, for reasons of my own, I retired from active legal work; but now, alas, any professional reputation which I once had must be taken as of no account. As "a lawyer" I stand pilloried. As "a lawyer" I have been guilty of "an inexcusable error"—according to Mr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, M. D.!

But here, adopting the formula made use of by Sir John Duke Coleridge, when, as Attorney General, he was cross-examining the claimant in the famous "Tichborne Case," I would ask my censor, "Should you be surprised to hear" that the words which you say "embody an inexcusable error in a lawyer" are not my words at all, but just a verbatim quotation from "Comyns's Digest," which I had omitted to distinguish by quotation marks?¹

Possibly Dr. Tannenbaum may not be familiar with "Comyns's Digest." It was the work of "the Rt. Hon. Sir John Comyns, Knt." described on his title-page as "Late Lord Chief Baron of H. M. Court of Exchequer." It is, perhaps, the best authority we have concerning the law of England in respect of wills in Shakespearean times, considerably more than 200 years before our present "Wills Act." I will quote the exact words of the passage to which I made reference. They are to be found in Volume III, at p. 4, under "Devise (E. 1)" and under title, "*How a Testament shall be executed*," viz., "After the Stat. 32 and 34 Hen. VIII, it was sufficient that a will was put in writing by the testator, or by another with his privity and direction, *without any other execution.*"²

¹ Dr. Tannenbaum writes that I speak "with an air of authority," but "not accurately." I had, however, made reference to my "authority" in a foot-note to p. 51 of my book, viz., "Comyns's Digest," Estates by Devise, D. I and E. I. I fear Dr. Tannenbaum omitted to consult that excellent "authority."

² I have followed Dr. Tannenbaum's example by putting these four words in italics.

It will be seen that I have quoted all the relevant words of this authoritative utterance *verbatim*. It seems, therefore, that I am not the only one who, "as a lawyer," has been guilty of "an inexcusable error" in this matter. A most distinguished Lord Chief Baron of H. M. Court of Exchequer is *particeps criminis*, and, unfortunately, I was content to quote his words as an accurate statement of the law as it existed when William Shakspeare of Stratford made his will. Perhaps if I had included the words in quotation marks Dr. Tannenbaum might have treated them with rather more respect.

But Dr. Tannenbaum may say, Surely the Lord Chief Baron ought to have known that "it was the 'execution' of a will—the fulfilment of certain legal requirements—that made a valid will?" Yes, truly, if he will substitute the word, "makes," for "made," and confine his argument to a judge of the present day and to the law of England as it exists at the present day! But a reference to the only "authority" which he cites, to wit, Swinburne's "Brief Treatise of Testaments," would tell him that the essential thing to a valid will in those old days was the appointment of an executor. "The essential forme common to every Testament is the naming of an executor. The naming of an executor is said to be the foundation of the Testament. There can be no Testament at all, written or nuncupative, without appointing an executor."

Some form of "execution" was, no doubt, necessary for a written will in the early seventeenth century, but, certainly, not such as is now required by the definite provisions of the Wills Act (7 Will. IV and 1 Vict. C. 26), and the all-important requisite for a valid "execution," at that time, was "the naming of an executor."

One word more, and I have done—for the present at least. I have written, with regard to the hypothesis that the three words, "By me, William," in the third and last signature of Shakspeare's will, were written not by the testator, but by some other—friend or scrivener, it may be—on his behalf (which, personally, I am convinced is a true one) that, in the year, 1616, there was "no actual legal necessity that a will should be signed at all." I have the most ample and indisputable legal corroboration for that statement; yet Dr. Tannenbaum sees fit to write, "All this is such a misleading and incorrect statement of the law and the practice

relating to the execution of wills, so likely to deceive the unwary and the uninformed," that he feels it incumbent upon him "to set the matter right."

Well, Mr. Editor, I am always glad to be set right by any critic, of any nationality, *if I am wrong*. But my book, "The Shakespeare Signatures and 'Sir Thomas More,'" has now been before the public for upwards of two years, and, hitherto, no English critic, lawyer or layman, has taken exception to my statement of the law with regards to wills in Shakespearian times, based as it is upon the authority of "Comyns's Digest"; nor have I previously been assailed by the epithets "misleading," "incorrect," "likely to deceive the unwary and the misinformed" (save the mark!), which Mr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum has thought fit to hurl at my head, as though from some superior height of knowledge.

I cannot profess to be much disturbed by these general accusations. I am quite prepared to defend my position if and when it should be attacked by any competent lawyer who can speak with at least some semblance of authority upon the law of the olden time, but as I know that I have already reached the limits that I can expect to be allowed me in *Studies in Philology*, I will, at present, do no more than express my thanks in anticipation for the publication of what I have already written.

I am

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE GREENWOOD.

London, England.

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